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THE PRESS AND POLITICS IN JAPAN

A STUDY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE NEWSPAPER AND THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN JAPAN

By

KISABURŌ KAWABÉ, PH.D., LL.B.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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TO

MY FATHER, THE LATE KEISUKÉ KAWABÉ

WHO, THROUGH HARDSHIP AND TOIL, SACRIFICED THE GREATER PART OF HIS LIFE FOR THE EDUCATION OF HIS SONS

AND

MY MOTHER

WHO HAS MOST UNSELFISHLY DEVOTED HER LIFE FOR THEIR WELFARE

THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

My purpose in this work is to show the influence of the press upon the political life of Japan. For such success as I have attained in overcoming the great difficulties caused by the complexity of the problem and the lack of access (owing to my residence in America) to the original Japanese sources, I am chiefly indebted to my younger brother Sukejūrō Kawabé, who, for four years, has constantly labored in Japan to supply me with the necessary information and materials. It was through his untiring co-operation that I was enabled to complete this book.

Special acknowledgment is due also to Dr. Robert E. Park of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago for his kind criticisms and valuable suggestions. For the improvement of the style I owe much to Mr. Joseph B. Shine, A.M., and to Miss Katherine Bartholomew, Ph.B. To the authors and publishers whose books and periodical articles are quoted or referred to in this work, and to all those who have given me assistance in one way or another, but whose names do not appear here, I take this opportunity to express my gratitude.

KISABURŌ KAWABÉ

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1920

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The organization of the community at any given moment represents an established equilibrium and *modus vivendi* between opposing forces and contending interests and aims. The form which this equilibrium takes is determined, other things being equal, by the means of communication, transportation, and the character of the social contacts. Under communication are included (1) geographical and natural means of communication and transportation, i.e. lakes, rivers, mountain passes, the ocean; (2) roads, railways, both steam and electrical, and automobiles; (3) the post-office, the telegraph, and the telephone; (4) printing and the newspapers. Communication by mail and telegraph and through the press depends upon the existence of a common speech, a common literature, and general education. The existence of a newspaper depends upon all these things, and, therefore, its study must be made in connection with the development of all the conditions which contribute to its successful existence and growth.

Newspapers guide and mold opinion through editorials. Through news they inform it. News is not, however, less important in creating public opinion than editorials. The press in directing the attention of the public selects the materials from which ideas are formed. It may be said to create views and opinions, as well as communicate them. As a means of communication the modern newspapers may be compared to the telegraph, telephone, railroad, steamship, and flying machine. It is a sort of common carrier.

It is important to distinguish between communications: those made through the mails, by telegraph, and by telephone; and communications through the medium of the newspapers. While all other means of communication treat each person separately, newspapers offer not only a medium for individual expression as in the case of the advertisement and the personal columns, where homes are united, members of a family

are put in touch with one another, or rendezvous are arranged, but also a medium for the exchange of the news and opinions of the general public. For that reason the newspaper becomes primarily the organ of expression of the group, as well as a means of communication between individuals and groups of individuals. It becomes, therefore, the natural organ for the formation and expression of public opinion, and is the medium par excellence of political life. Because of this function, it becomes of prime importance in countries in which we have a popular form of government, i.e. government by public opinion. In England, where parliamentary government has been most thoroughly developed, the growth of a political democracy has gone on side by side with the development of newspapers. In fact, the history of the transition from personal and feudal to the popular government is largely the history for the freedom of public opinion and of the press. It was in England where that took place first and most completely. As the free government in the period of predominant provincial life and provincial economy was carried on in the town meeting, so, with the development of national life and national economy, it is the press through which distance is reduced, which plays the rôle of the town meeting. Through the newspaper people are promptly informed of current events and are enabled to exchange views and express opinions regarding them. Such universal discussion creates public opinion, which controls public affairs and makes democracy possible.[1] Therefore in a modern state the newspaper is one of the social institutions which are indispensable to self-government.

During the last fifty years there have been going on constant conflicts and adjustment in vivid forms in the political experience of the Japanese, and in these struggles the part played by communication is worthy of special attention. The present work was intended to indicate the process through which a state, where only half a century ago no public opinion was considered in political affairs, has made remarkable progress mainly through the development of the system of communication, as a result of the modern printing press. In Old Japan, i.e. before the Restoration of 1868, we may say that public opinion played almost no part in the political life of the people at large, due to the fact that communication

[1] Robert E. Park, Lecture.

and general education were greatly hampered, and that freedom of discussion was narrowly limited by a complicated system of feudalism. Subsequent to the Restoration, however, these restrictions were modified, and the printing press rapidly made its appearance. From that time on we can clearly trace how each stage of the political development in Japan made its progress right along with the growth of the press.

In Old Japan only a fraction of the one million upper-class population—court nobles, lords, and *samurai*—participated in politics; but the great masses had no part in it chiefly because adequate communication, which is essential to the psychological organization of an intelligent public, was impossible at that time. Japanese newspapers may be divided into ten-year periods, beginning with the Restoration of 1868. This classification is more or less arbitrary, but each one of these periods corresponds with a particular stage in the trend of Japan's political experiences:

1. The first decade (1868–78) might be called "the period of amateur journalism." The circulation of the newspapers was then insignificant, but it already exerted considerable influence upon state affairs by attracting the attention of the authorities and the people. In this period, because of the lack of communication and of a proper means for discussion, serious misunderstandings arose among different elements of the population, and bitter animosities were stirred up. The result was frequent insurrections and assassinations. This was a national unification period.

2. During the second period (1878-90) political journals developed rapidly. The size of the public which gave expression to political affairs was therefore enlarged, although it was still limited to the upper classes. Now the public became more enlightened, and instead of resorting to force and violence they began to use their new weapon of publicity. Various political agitations for the establishment of a more liberal government took place in different parts of the country, and an earlier promulgation of the Imperial Constitution and the establishment of the National Assembly were promoted. This was a transitional period from autocracy to constitutionalism.

3. In the period (1890–97) following the opening of the National Assembly, the newspapers of Japan became party organs, serving the political parties as their strongest weapons against each other and against the government. Bitter conflicts took place between the House of Representatives and newspapers on the one side and the government on the other, chiefly on account of disputes on matters of foreign relations. Treaty-revision problems and several other international difficulties created among the people a stronger national self-consciousness and gave birth to a reactionary nationalism which culminated in a war with China. This was a period of the growth of constitutionalism and nationalism, both of which were greatly fostered by the press.

4. In the fourth period (1897–1906), i.e. after the Japan-China War, industry developed rapidly, newspaper advertising increased, and journalism in Japan became a commercial and independent enterprise. Means of communication, general education, the method of printing and editing, and an unusual stimulus given by the war news increased the newspaper circulation by five times in one decade. This meant at once a similar increase in the power of the public in politics. The organized public now began to include the middle-class population, and constitutionalism made further progress. As a result of the Japan-China War, nationalism took a more active turn and became imperialistic. The result was the Russo-Japanese War. This war was, however, not due so much to the minority opinion of the dominating militaristic classes as it was to a strong public opinion which was created chiefly through the press.

5. During the fifth period (1906–20), i.e. from the Russo-Japanese War to the present day, most newspapers in Japan became independent and greatly increased their circulation. Public opinion had heretofore been limited to the upper and middle classes. Now, however, due to the diffusion of general education, the increase of wealth, and the stimulus given by the war news, the lower classes began to read the papers. A political awakening of the masses resulted. They entered the field of public opinion and brought about a remarkable transformation in the social, political, and industrial life of the nation. To the already growing idea of democracy the recent Great War gave a strong incentive. The

fall of German militarism and the victory of the cause of democracy gave the people a vivid impression of what liberty and equality meant both in national and international politics. In view of such an extraordinary change in the attitude, ideas, and ideals of the people at large the bureaucrats and conservatives became alarmed about the future of the Eastern Empire.

This was the situation. An increasing number of the national population had begun to participate in the common life of the state. Nationalism had been greatly enlightened. A healthy democracy had finally found a strong foothold in Japan. What took England hundreds of years to accomplish has been done in half a century in Japan. The unique history of the political development has, of course, a multitude of different forces back of it. In this volume we are concerned with the study of one of those forces, i.e. the modern printing press. The events and processes heretofore briefly mentioned are more clearly expressed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION IN OLD JAPAN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN OLD JAPAN

Essential to the development of the newspaper itself are all other means of communication. Let us, therefore, study them first.

Being a narrowly ranged volcanic archipelago, originally consisting of four main islands and several hundred small islands, Japan has always enjoyed the benefit of maritime communication. And, since all the islands are about two-thirds mountain region, and by ravines and rivers blocked out into hundreds of small, isolated geographical areas, land communication did not develop until late in the national history. Therefore in the earlier period the population settled first along the seacoast.

In 81 B.C. Emperor Sujin issued a decree to the coast provinces ordering the people to increase the number of ships in order to develop maritime transportation. In 88 B.C. he dispatched four governors-general to the four districts of the country with orders to improve the highways. Succeeding emperors encouraged the development of communication and transportation. About 563 A.D. lighthouses were built along the coast, and in 860 A.D., in the reign of Emperor Seiwa, beacons were erected at several channels in order to guide the vessels. By the time of the Taikwa Reformation in 645 A.D. a definite post system for the transmission of official mails was established. The courier was called *Haya Uma* (fast horse), for he rode on horseback. In the same Reformation, relay stables were established in every village along the main national highways for urgent transmission. Besides the *Haya Uma* there were couriers on foot called *Hikyaku* (fleet-legs), who also carried mails by the relay system. At that time in traveling any considerable distance people were required to carry passports with them. This mail system has been maintained ever since, with one exception in the period of civil strife (*Gun-yu Kakkyo* Period), which lasted from 1573 to 1603. The system was further developed under the Tokugawa régime.

In 1601 Iyeyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun, provided thirty-six relay stations, with thirty-six horses in each, on the Tokaido highway. He gave 1,440 *tsubo* of land (a *tsubo* is 7 feet 5½ inches square) to each relay station for its maintenance. Licenses were issued only to the official couriers. Other highways such as Nakasendo, Oshu-dochu, Nikko-dochu, Kishu-dochu, etc., had similar systems, and all the routes centered in Yedo (now Tokyo). There were two kinds of mails, the ordinary and the special, the latter being carried by certain swift couriers. The local and minor highways also had couriers under the control of local lords.

This system provided for official mail only. The carrying of private mail and the payment of taxes to the central government, which were generally paid in products, were difficult matters, for there was no practical means of communication until 1663 A.D. Traveling priests, pilgrims, and peddlers frequently served as messengers Under the feudal régime the country was divided into hundreds of small dominions, and national communication was hindered by the neglect of local lords: difficulty in crossing streams due to the lack of bridges and boats especially under flood conditions, and the guard-stations built at all the strategic points on the main national highways where travelers were required to show their passports and suspicious-looking persons were detained or imprisoned.

In the Tokugawa régime (1602–1867) the *Shogun* placed the *daimyo*, or the lords, in such positions that they restrained one another, and thus made their united action against him impossible. Each lord built his castle on a natural stronghold, and set up strong defenses against invasion. No attempt was made to facilitate the traffic between different sections of the country. In 1663 A.D. the first public mail service in Japan was established under the direct protection of the government. This was two hundred and fifty-seven years ago. In July, 1664, a regular mail system called *Sando-Bikyaku* (Three-time Courier) was established and the public mails were dispatched three times regularly every month, at Osaka every second, twelfth, and twenty-second day. When these mails arrived at the destination post-offices, which were generally hotels called *Hikyaku-yado* (Couriers' Hotel), they were

emptied on mats in front of the offices and were exhibited on the streets. Addressees found their own mail. In the same year there were four such private post-offices in Osaka, three in Kyoto, and six in Yedo. Eighty-eight years after this, in 1751, the number was increased to twelve in Osaka, sixteen in Kyoto, and nine in Yedo. By 1806 the mails were dispatched more than eighteen times a month. Besides these land couriers there were swift mail boats which handled both letters and parcels, and in 1744 the money-order system and the insurance of mails were introduced. As these private couriers improved, many official mails were also intrusted to them. Postal fees were relatively high, on account of the great difficulties met with in the transmission of the mails, and the rate was frequently changed by the agreement of the Couriers' Association.

Under the Tokugawa régime the building of seaworthy vessels was prohibited, so that no one was able to cross the sea to maintain intercourse with any other countries. Only the small coasting, river, and lake boats were allowed to be built. These vessels were too dangerous for traveling purposes, and were primarily used for the transportation of cargoes.

EDUCATION IN OLD JAPAN

The next problem to be studied is that of general education. When the masses are illiterate, there is no hope for the development of the newspapers nor for a general participation in political affairs. Communication and general education lead to a unified national language and the development of a common literature, and thus a way is opened for common discussion by speech and publicity.

In Old Japan before the Tokugawa régime education was limited to the upper classes, and the majority of the people were kept ignorant. Originally there was no writing in Japan, but in 284 A.D. Chinese letters were introduced by a Korean scholar named Wani, and subsequently written language came into existence. By the Code of the Taiho Era, a university was established in the capital in 701 A.D., but no one except the children of nobles was admitted to it. This date precedes that of the establishment of any university in Europe by more than a century.

All the students were given government scholarships, and the curriculum consisted of Chinese classic, philosophy, history, literature and composition, law, music, calligraphy, and mathematics. Besides the university there were colleges of medicine, of music, and of divination, all of which were maintained by the central government. Provincial colleges with similar courses of lower grades were also established and were controlled by the local governors. There were also many private colleges and schools maintained by clans, families, and groups of wealthy people to educate their own children. In the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth centuries, many scholars and Buddhist priests were sent by the government to China, and they brought back the Chinese and Indian civilizations.

Although the Japanese now had the Chinese letters, they met with extraordinary difficulties in adapting them for the entirely different language: the Chinese ideographs cannot be adapted to the Japanese language, which has an entirely different origin and therefore different sounds. About the ninth century, *kana*, or Japanese syllabaries, were invented by the native scholars, and then it became possible to spell the vernacular by its sounds. Subsequently, the native literature was written in a peculiarly mixed form of both Chinese ideographs and *kana*, and rapidly attained a degree of excellence that has not been equaled since. The literatures of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries are much admired today. The works of such brilliant court ladies as Murasaki-shikibu, Izumi-shikibu, and Sei-shonagon are the flowers of Japanese literature.

Literary works gradually accumulated. About 1270 the Kanazawa Library was established, where nearly all the Japanese and Chinese books which existed in those days were kept for the general public. Education was gradually developing throughout the country, although until the beginning of the Tokugawa régime (1602 A.D.) the masses were able to receive elementary instruction only at the Buddhist temples.

The Tokugawa Shogunate encouraged education, and a large number of schools were established under the direction of the central government, of the local lords, and of private scholars. The highest government school for training officials was the Shohei-ko, which was established

in 1630 for teaching Chinese classics, history, reading, literature, and Japanese learning. Other provincial schools followed the system of the Shohei-ko and gave similar curricula. The education of the common people was in the hands of the priests at first, but later lay scholars opened private schools and taught there elementary reading, letter-writing, arithmetic, etiquette, and calligraphy. The eighth Shogun, Yoshimune (1713–44), encouraged popular education, and from then on it became widely diffused. About this time several such prominent scholars as Yekken Kaibara and Tekisai Nakamura wrote a number of books which appealed to the less-educated masses, and which therefore accelerated the diffusion of culture among the common people. A considerable proportion of the male population could now read and write sufficiently to meet their daily necessities. The majority of the female population remained illiterate.

Besides the schools, pilgrimages which were in vogue in Old Japan, popular dramas, and story-telling contributed to some extent to the education of the common people.

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CHAPTER III

THE PREJOURNALISTIC PERIOD (BEFORE 1868)

Illiteracy and segregation of the masses and the policy of repression held by the government stunted the development of the newspaper. But a common culture was being slowly diffused throughout the country by the new written language. In Old Japan, previous to the introduction of modern journalism in 1868, news and opinions were conveyed in various ways, imperfect though they were. These methods may be considered as the forerunners of newspapers in Japan, and can be classified into five groups—the song period, the scribbling period, pictorial and ballad period, the joke-book and yellow-cover period, and the lampoon period.

Before writing was introduced from China in 284 A.D., news and ideas were conveyed mainly by songs. The Japanese were a poetic people from the earliest period of national history, and poetry had developed before written language came into use. Songs of the mythological period are the prototype of later poems. The first legendary song recorded in the history of Japan is probably the stanza which the goddess Uzume sang while she danced before the heavenly cave. The story runs as follows:

When Susanowo, the mischievous moon-god, teased his beautiful sister Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, who is said to be the maternal ancestor of the Japanese imperial family of five generations previous to the first Emperor Jimmu, she hid herself in a heavenly cave and shut the rocky door so tightly that the whole universe suddenly turned pitch-dark. Then eight milliard deities assembled, consulted together, and formed a plan to lure Amaterasu out of the cave. A great musical feast was begun in front of the cave door, and Uzume, the laughing goddess, danced and sang wonderfully. The celebration was so great that the sun-goddess could not resist the temptation and at last opened the rocky door slightly and peeped out. Tachikarawo, or the heavenly-hand-strength-male-god, suddenly took hold of her hand and pulled

her out of the cave, and again the heaven and earth brightened and there was light. The stanza which Uzume sang on that occasion was:

Gods behold the cavern door,
Majesty appears—hurrah!
Our hearts are quite satisfied,
Behold my charms![1]

When Susanowo, the moon-god, descended from heaven and married an earthly goddess, Kushi-Inada-Hime, and built his august palace in the Province of Izumo (Northern Japan), clouds of eight beautiful colors suddenly arose there. Then Susanowo made a song:

Ya-kumo tatsu:
Idzumo ya-he-gaki;
tsuma-gomi-ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru:
Sono ya-he-gakiwo.

This was translated by Chamberlain as follows:

Eight clouds arise. The eightfold (or manifold)
fence of Idzumo makes an eightfold (or manifold) fence
for the spouses to retire within.
Oh! that eightfold fence!

The old Japanese songs mostly consist of seven and five syllables alternating in each line, and the method of expressing the ideas and feelings is extremely simple. By a peculiar method of reiteration and pause these primitive poems are capable of giving vivid impressions. I will show a few more examples of old songs, translated by Lafcadio Hearn.

This song from the *Gempei Seisuiki* (Account of the Prosperity and Decline of the Two Great Clans Gen and Hei) was composed in the twelfth century.

Both form and mind—
Lo! how these change!
The falling of tears
Is like the water of a cataract.

Let them become the Pool
Of the Lotos of the Good Law!
Poling thereupon
The Boat of Salvation,
Vouchsafe that my sinking
Body may ride!

[1] Translation by W. G. Griffis, *Japan in History, Folk Lore, and Art*, pp. 37–38.

Who twice shall live his youth?
What flower faded blooms again?
Fugitive as dew
Is the form regretted,
Seen only
In a moment of dream.[1]

It is customary in Japan when young people marry for the woman to enter the man's house. There the mother-in-law and the sisters of the husband are the greatest terrors of the timid bride.

EYE OF MOTHER-IN-LAW

In the shadow of the mountain
What is it that shines so?
Moon is it, nor star?—or is it the fire-fly insect?
Neither is it moon,
Nor yet star;
It is the old woman's eye; it is the eye of my mother-in-law that shines.
(*Chorus*) It is her Eye that shines![2]

OLD DANCE SONG IN PROVINCE OF SANUKI

Oh! the cruelty, the cruelty of my mother-in-law!
(*Chorus*) Oh! the cruelty!
Even tells me to paint a picture on running water!
If ever I paint a picture on running water,
You will count the stars in the night-sky!
Count the stars in the night-sky!
—Come! Let us dance the Dance of the Honorable Garden!
Chan-chan!
Cha-cha!
Yoitomose,
Yoitomose!
Who cuts bamboo at the back of the house?
(*Chorus*) Who cuts the bamboo?
My sweet lord's [husband's] own bamboo, the first he planted,
The first he planted?

[1] Translation by Lafcadio Hearn in *Shadowings*, p. 192.

[2] An old folk-song sung in the province of Shinano. Translation by Lafcadio Hearn in *Shadowings*, p. 171.

—Come! Let us dance the Dance of the Honorable Garden!
Chan-chan!
Cha-cha!
Yoitomose,
Yoitomose!
Oh! the cruelty, the cruelty of my mother-in-law!
Oh! the cruelty!
Tells me to cut and make a *hakama* [skirt] out of rock!
If ever I cut and saw a *hakama* out of rock,
Then you will learn to twist the fine sand into thread,
Twist into thread.
—Come! Let us dance the Dance of the Honorable Garden!
Chan-chan!
Cha-cha!
Yoitomose, Yoitomose! Chan-chan-chan![1]

After the introduction of Chinese ideographs, scribblings on walls of houses and posts became a means of communication. They were mostly satirical matters, such as criticisms of authorities and other dignitaries, and miscellanies. Travelers frequently left messages on the walls of hotels and inns.

In 1045 Takakuni Minamoto, a nobleman, built a villa at Uji to provide a free resting-place for travelers. From the various reports of his guests from different parts of the country he composed interesting articles and published two books, *Konjaku-Monogatari* and *Uji-Ishu*.

About 1600 A.D. lithographing was invented, and subsequently news was printed for the first time on one- or two-page papers, generally with some illustrations. These news sheets were read aloud by hawkers on the streets and in other public places, and therefore they obtained the name *yomiuri*, or "hawked about." This lithographing was called *kawara-ban* (tile-block print) because it was engraved on clay to make the tile block. Later wood-block engraving on cherry wood was introduced, but it still retained the name of *kawara-ban*.

The earliest tile-block print known today was made in 1615 with an illustrated description of the battle of Abe, which took place between Hideyori and Iyeyasu on May 7 of that year, and in which Iyeyasu was

[1] Translation by Lafcadio Hearn in *Shadowings*, pp. 171–72.

victorious in vanquishing the Toyotomi Clan. The author is supposed to have been no less than Iyeyasu himself. He distributed the news of his victory throughout the country to influence the feudal lords to aid him. At that time there were already movable types made of wood, and several books were printed from these. It is said that Iyeyasu, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, gave 300,000 wood types to the Ashikaga school with orders to publish in print many old manuscripts. It is also reported that, in 1614, 200,000 copper types were cast by the Tokugawa government in order to print the Buddhist scriptures and works of classical literatures. But the illustrated print was still very rare, and for more than sixty years after that time there was no other illustrated newspaper known to have been in existence.

In the Genroku Era (1688–1703) love ballads became popular, and every sensational incident in love affairs was hawked by the ballad singers on the streets. This era was one of the most extravagant periods in Japanese history. All the country enjoyed peace and prosperity; and the luxurious life and general moral laxity supplied endless resources for the popular ballad, which was enthusiastically welcomed by the public. The hawkers of these ballads were called *tsurebushi* (singers-in-pair), for they went around by pairs singing. The majority of these hawkers were people who through misfortune and dissipation were unable any longer to do hard work. However, the literary skill and musical accomplishment acquired in prosperous days enabled them to compose ballads of popular interest and to sing them on the streets. It was a custom of these ballad singers to cover their heads with hats woven of reeds in order to conceal their identity.[1] In 1688, when the famous forty-seven *ronin* (masterless *samurai*) of Ako had taken up the feud of their former lord, a detailed account of the incident was at once written as a ballad and sold by singers on the streets of Yedo and other large cities.

[1] In the chapter called "Fallen Rich Man," of a book entitled *The Second Generation of Sensual Man*, published in 1684, the following passage is found: "Messrs. Shichi and Hachi, brothers of Kaneya Company, their mortgaged estate having been forfeited, moved to Matsuyacho, and even very late at night were unmistakably seen going around the streets singing *tsure-bushi* with hoarse voices," etc. (Kamezo Asakura, *Honcho Shimbun-shi*, p. 4.)

It is said that the street ballad was sometimes a means of blackmail. In order to check these scandals and the demoralizing effect of sensual literature, public notices were published by the Shogunate in November, 1684, and again on February 21, 1698, which read as follows:

Recently there have been people who are printing current gossip in the form of popular ballads and selling them in the cities. House owners are ordered to scrutinize their tenants and roomers and to prohibit any persons from printing such ballads on their premises. If the city or village officials find the peddlers of such ballads, they must arrest and deliver them to the guardhouses. Upon conviction, both the writers of the ballads and the peddlers shall be punished accordingly. Inspectors will soon be dispatched from the central government to investigate local conditions, and the local authorities are expected to have carried out this order effectively before that time.

This checked the writing of ballads until about 1704. At this time the ballad adopted the literary and musical form of the *saimon*. The *saimon* were chants composed by Shinto priests for funerals and memorial services. As this *saimon*-chanting had an attractive form and sentimental appeal, it was used as a cloak for the forbidden ballad and gradually brought about a revival of the street singing. Later a banjo player was added to the two ballad singers, and the song attracted more attention than before.

The following is a translation by Lafcadio Hearn of one of the popular street ballads of those days sung by the wandering banjo players:

THE DITTY OF O-KICHI AND SEIZA

(O-Kichi-Seiza Kudoki)

Now hear the pitiful story of two that died for love: In Kyoto was the thread shop of Yoemon, a merchant known far and near, a man of much wealth. His business prospered; his life was fortunate. One daughter he had, an only child, by name O-Kichi: at sixteen years she was lovely as a flower. Also he had a clerk in his house, by name Seiza, just in the prime of youth, aged twenty-and-two.

Yanrei! (*refrain for pause*)

Now the young man Seiza was handsome; and O-Kichi fell in love with him at sight. And the two were so often together that their secret affection

became known; and the matter came to the ears of the parents of O Kichi; and they, hearing of it, felt that such a thing could not be suffered to continue.

Yanrei!

So, at last, the mother, having called O-Kichi into a private room, thus spoke to her: "O my daughter, I hear that you have formed a secret relation with the young man Seiza, of our shop. Are you willing to end that relation at once, and not to think any more about that man, O-Kichi? Answer me, O my daughter."

Yanrei!

"O my dear mother," answered O-Kichi, "what is this that you ask me to do? The closeness of the relation between Seiza and me is the closeness of the relation of the ink to the paper that it penetrates. Therefore, whatever may happen, O mother of mine, to separate from Seiza is more than I can bear."

Yanrei!

Then the father, having called Seiza to the innermost private room, thus spoke to him: "I have called you here only to tell you this: You have turned the mind of our daughter away from what is right; and even to hear of such a matter is not to be borne. Pack up your things at once, and go! Today is the utmost limit of the time that you remain in this house."

Yanrei!

Now Seiza was a native of Osaka. Without saying more than "Yes, yes," he obeyed and went away, returning to his home. There he remained four or five days, thinking only of O-Kichi. And because of his longing for her, he fell sick; and as there was no cure and no hope for him, he died.

Yanrei!

Then one night O-Kichi, in a moment of sleep, saw the face of Seiza close to her pillow, so plainly that she could not tell whether it was real, or only a dream. And rising up, she looked about; but the form of Seiza had vanished.

Yanrei!

Because of this she made up her mind to go at once to the house of Seiza. And, without being seen by anyone, she fled from the home of her parents.

Yanrei!

When she came to the ferry at the next village, she did not take the boat, but went round by another road; and making all haste she found her way to the city of Osaka. There she asked for the house of Seiza, and learned that it was in a certain street, the third house from a certain bridge.

Yanrei!

Arriving at last before the house of Seiza, she took off her traveling hat of straw; and seating herself on the threshold of the entrance, she cried out: "Pardon me kindly! Is not this the house of Master Seiza?"

Yanrei!

Then—O the pity of it! She saw the mother of Seiza, weeping bitterly, and holding in her hand a Buddhist rosary. "O my good young lady," the mother of Seiza asked, "whence have you come, and whom do you want to see?"

Yanrei!

And O-Kichi said: "I am the daughter of the thread-merchant of Kyoto. And I have come all the way here only because of the love that has long existed between Master Seiza and myself. Therefore, I pray you, kindly permit me to see him."

Yanrei!

"Alas!" made answer the weeping mother, "Seiza, whom you have come so far to see, is dead. Today is the seventh day from the day on which he died." . . . . Hearing these words O-Kichi herself could only shed tears.

Yanrei!

But after a little while she took her way to the cemetery. And there she found the *sotoba* (a wooden lath, bearing a Buddhist text, planted above the grave) erected above the grave of Seiza; and leaning upon it, she wept aloud.

Yanrei!

Then—how fearful a thing is the longing of a person—the grave of Seiza split asunder; and the form of Seiza rose up therefrom and spoke.

Yanrei!

"Ah! is not this O-Kichi that has come? Kind indeed it was to have come to me from so far away! My O-Kichi, do not weep thus. Never again, even though you weep, can we be united in this world. But as you love me

truly, I pray you to set some fragrant flowers before my tomb, and to have a Buddhist service said for me upon the anniversary of my death."

Yanrei!

And with these words the form of Seiza vanished. "O wait, wait for me!" cried O-Kichi, "wait one little moment! I cannot let you return alone! I shall go with you in a little time!"

Yanrei!

Then quickly she went beyond the temple-gate to a moat some four or five *cho* (*cho* is about one-fifteenth of a mile) distant; and having filled her sleeves with small stones, into the deep water she cast her forlorn body.

Yanrei!

In 1718 the peddling of ballads was again prohibited, and in December, 1722, the following decree was issued:

Printing and sale of any unfounded gossip and the news of double suicide of lovers have been heretofore prohibited, but we are informed that there are still many violations of this law. Hereafter officers will be dispatched to arrest all such lawbreakers. Whenever persons violating this decree are found, the local authorities are requested to make arrest and deliver them to the nearest guardhouses. Local authorities who intentionally neglect this duty shall also be punished.

This law put an end to the making of street ballads in Japan.[1]

The broadsides published thereafter contained mainly articles on blood-feuds, articles on filial piety, news of great fires, earthquakes, floods, upon the birth of triplets, the visits of distinguished foreigners, festivals, dramas, etc. These sheets lacked the sensational element contained in the old love ballads. Furthermore, the peddlers were not allowed to sing or read on the streets, and could merely shout the headlines. The majority of the common people could not read the sheets, and paid no attention to them. Something else had to take their place.

[1] It is said that the ballads of the sensational stories of double suicide committed by unfortunate young lovers instigated more such acts, so that the government was forced to put a ban on such ballads.

After the Restoration of 1868 the ballad again made its appearance. As late as a decade ago the singers of ballads were seen in temple yards, in parks, and on streets, on fête days, drawing large crowds of people.

However, the street ballad was entirely stopped by the government order of 1722, and in its place small-sized pamphlets called "joke books" (*share-bon*) and "yellow covers" (*kibyoshi*) made their appearance in the An-ei Era (1722–80). They were stories, sometimes in verse, frequently illustrated, the matter of which was apparently innocent, but often only a disguise for the secrets of the Shogunate court or of the local lords. There were, for instance, stories in which the characters were historical personages who were easily recognized as officials of the contemporary government. These disguises were easily penetrated by the readers, and the books became very popular. Before long, however, a strict law was again introduced against them, and severe punishments were inflicted on the composers and illustrators. Romances based on facts of gossip did not appear again until the beginning of the modern era. Whatever has been said thus far has reference to all publications not directly concerned with political matters. As to political topics the restrictions were always severe and writers were summarily punished, often indeed executed. This was true whether the censored matter was printed or hand-copied, published in the form of news or in the form of fiction. The grievances of the people could not be entirely suppressed, but their expression took a peculiar form. This expression took the form of lampoons, the natural product of this arbitrary suppression. They were generally comic verses or stories of a satirical nature, aiming at criticism of the government and its authorities, and posted in conspicuous places. The lampoon as a form of political expression had existed from the earliest period of national history, but this form of satire was neither popular nor effective in those days because of the limited literacy. Under the régime of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), however, general education had been encouraged, and the progess of the art of printing had facilitated the distribution of literature. It was a paradox of the Tokugawa régime that it promoted literacy on the one hand and suppressed the freedom of discussion on the other. That government did not legislate against the political lampoon, although extremely severe regulations were

put against all other news-conveying devices. This was perhaps because any prohibition against the lampoon was by its nature futile. The result was that the lampoon enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity. For instance, during the Hoei Era (1704–10) lampoons criticizing the misgovernment of Senior Minister Yoshiyasu Sawayanagi, lord of Mino, were so numerous that someone published a large volume entitled *Hoei Lampoon* composed of those collections. In those days the Senior Minister's power was absolute, and the slightest sign of irreverence toward him would have cost the guilty person his head. By means of the lampoon, however, people found free and bold expression for their accumulated grievances.

Lampoons foresaw their best days in the national crisis at the end of the Tokugawa régime. Radicals, discontented persons, and fanatical patriots freely used this device as an outlet for their suppressed ideas and made it a medium of political discussion. With the beginning of the Meiji Era freedom of discussion was permitted. Consequently the lampoon lost its significance and together with ballad and pictorial news its rôle was taken up by the modern printing press.

There was no regular system of conveying official news under the Tokugawa régime. There were, however, official journals called *Government Orders* (*Gosata-sho*) and *Official Clerks' Diary* (*Goyuhitsu-nikki*) which recorded official actions, orders, notices, appointments, dismissals, etc., and which were sold for certain monthly fees. There was no definite form of stating those records, and the completeness of the duplicates largely depended on the amount of fees paid. There was also a cooperative organ called *Associate Diary* (*Cho-ai*) which the caretakers of the *daimyo's* (lords') mansions had established. This publication collected official proceedings of all *daimyo* together and distributed the copies among the members. These two sorts of journals were the prototypes of the existing official gazette.

Among the people there also existed similar organs in narrower schemes. For instance, in the Koka Era (1844–47) a man by the name of Yoshizo Fujiokaya, who lived in Hatago-cho, Kandaku, Yedo, circulated records of important official proceedings and current gossip in the city.

All these literatures heretofore described had acted, in some way or other, as a means of communication. They conveyed gossip, news, views, and opinions in irregular forms among the people, and to a certain extent aided the development of a common culture in the community. Their rôle in the formation of public opinion, however, was insignificant. Until free communication by speech and publicity develops over a wide area, the participation of the masses in the common life of a large community is impossible.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT THE END OF THE TOKUGAWA RÉGIME

In the strict sense of the term public opinion did not exist among the people of Old Japan. It was impossible to organize public opinion over any large area of the state. Furthermore, views and opinions of the few intelligent persons were suppressed as injurious to the government before they reached the masses. Trained to passive obedience, the common people resorted to their final measure of protest—the riot—only when too harshly oppressed by heavy taxes. As for political affairs in general, the great mass of the people simply kept aloof provided their individual burden remained tolerable. It was only the upper classes—court nobles, lords, and *samurai*—who were really interested in political matters. Public opinion therefore simply meant the opinion of a small part of one million upper-class people, who dominated the remaining thirty million. It was in this situation that the whole nation was at last aroused from its long-continued political hibernation and was brought into a more or less conscious state in reference to public affairs.

The Spanish and the Portuguese missionaries of the sixteenth century, by their thoughtless interference in the internal politics of Japan, had given the Japanese rulers an unfortunate impression that all the foreigners had an intention of territorial aggression upon the empire. Therefore, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country to all foreigners except the Dutch. From that time on Japan enjoyed a peaceful life for more than two and a half centuries in complete isolation from the rest of the world. But by the eighteenth century the Western powers began to press her with the request to open the country for trade and intercourse with them. That was a shock to the long-secluded island people. Fear, excitement, conflicting opinions, and violent disputes resulted at last in the decay of the Shogunate régime, and the way was opened for New Japan under the direct rule of the Emperor.

The earliest visitor from the Western world, with the exceptions of Holland, Spain, and Portugal, was Russia, whose warship came in October, 1793,[1] to the eastern coast of Hokkaido, asking for trade. When this news was spread in the country, the intelligent classes began to consider the problem of foreign relations seriously. Subsequently, more Russian warships made frequent visits to different parts of Japan, and pillaged the inhabitants in several places. On August 15, 1808, an English ship visited the harbor of Nagasaki, and in May, 1818, another English boat came to Uraga. In August, 1824, an English ship pillaged Takara-shima Island, and again in April, 1848, another English ship pillaged the seaport of Shimoda. All these incidents greatly excited the authorities, but each time they managed to conceal the facts from the public.

On June 3, 1853, four American vessels with crews numbering 560 persons, commanded by Commodore Perry, entered the port of Uraga and asked for trade. The surprise of both the authorities and the people was beyond description. This time the news in a greatly exaggerated form spread like wildfire all over the country, although the authorities tried again to keep it concealed. On June 6 the American ships proceeded to Hommoku, which is near Yokohama, and pressed an immediate reply. There were two parties then in government, one advocating war and the other a peaceful settlement. After a stormy discussion the peace party won, and the following reply was handed to Perry:

> The matter which you proposed is of extremely serious nature in our state, and accordingly we cannot decide it immediately. Please come, therefore, next year to the Port of Uraga and receive the answer.

At this time a large number of lampoons were distributed in Yedo and vicinity, a few examples of which are below:

> Divine-storms belong to the realm of a long past! How ridiculous it is to offer such flattering prayers to Gods and Buddha in a great haste at this time! (Originally a verse.)

[1] All dates given for the events which happened previous to January 1, 1873, are by the lunar calendar. The solar calendar was adopted in Japan on January 1, 1873, i.e. December 3, 1872, by the lunar calendar.

This lampoon ridiculed the attitude of the authorities, who had begun in great haste to complete the national coast defense, and at the same time had ordered the high priests to present prayers for peace at several temples.[1]

Commodore Perry agreed to wait for his answer until the next year and departed. The following lampoon was distributed:

GREAT SHIPS:

For a long time foreign vessels have been lingering in the Bay. However strongly the lords may defend the coast, they shall expect these vessels to come again in the Uraga Bay.

Bang! Bang! Dung! Dung!

All minds were bewildered, and the honorable Lords were excited. These vessels, however, seem to be preparing for their honorable return trip. But they will come again in the near future, and then let us enjoy more excitement!

Ah, indeed, very precious things have arrived!

Yours truly,[2]

In January, 1854, Perry came again with four warships and entered deep into the Yedo Bay, which heretofore had been strictly forbidden to all foreign vessels. The government protested and requested him to return to the port of Uraga for further negotiation. He took a firm stand and said, "We came from far away, and cannot endure to waste

[1] In the summer of 1363 A.D., the great Tartar Chieftain Kublai-Khan, with the intention of conquering Japan, sent an expeditionary force of 100,000 strong, reinforced by 40,000 Koreans, on 3,000 warships. Shogun Tokimune Hojo had offered a prayer for victory at the shrine of the sun-goddess at Ise, the traditional maternal imperial ancestor, and then hurried to the front and decisively defeated the invaders in the vicinity of Hakata of Kyushu Island. When the defeated enemy was preparing to depart for home, a violent storm suddenly stirred up the hitherto calm Japan Sea, and most of their vessels were swallowed up by the raging billows. The few remnants were immediately attacked by the Japanese ships and completely destroyed. This incident was called "Divine Wind" and has been transmitted in the memory of the nation ever since.

Now, the lampoon ridiculed the greatly confused attitude of the Shogunate Court, and laughed at the miraculous "Divine Wind" idea of the authorities, which, however, will not so conveniently occur again.

[2] Originally a verse.

any more time. If we receive your consent to our request, we will leave here. Otherwise, we shall proceed to Yedo at once and decide the matter there, or shall remain here to see a prompt settlement." Thereupon several *daimyo* became extremely furious and asked the Shogunate Court to permit them to fight the Americans with their own clan forces, but these petitions were all rejected. On March 3, 1854, a treaty of commerce consisting of twelve articles was concluded, and Japan opened for the first time three of her ports, Shimoda, Hakodate, and Nagasaki, to the foreigners.

Again on June 13, 1858, Townsend Harris came with two American warships, and, being joined by a Russian warship, warned Japan that England and France would soon come and demand a treaty by force. They added that if Japan should conclude a satisfactory treaty with America and Russia now, they would mediate in those impending difficulties. After a long conference, the authorities decided that the world's situation would not permit an isolated national existence, and that sooner or later the country was to be opened to all foreigners. The greatest difficulty at that time was the conflicting opinion existing between the Imperial Court and the Shogunate Court. The former, still being blind as to the world-situation, strongly insisted on the exclusion of foreigners, while the latter, having been already enlightened by practical diplomacy, saw the necessity of opening the state.

The Shogunate Court at last decided its foreign policy, and Senior Minister Naosuke Ii, a man of strong will, concluded the treaties without asking for imperial sanction. This fact made the loyalists furious, and gathering in Kyoto, the capital of Old Japan, they began bitterly to criticize the Shogunate's foreign policy and the arbitrariness of Minister Ii. Thereupon Ii started a wholesale execution of the prominent loyalists, and also punished a large number of high officials both of the Imperial and the Shogunate courts who had opposed his actions. He, of course, became an object of hatred to thousands of loyalists and foreign exclusionists, and on March 3, 1860, he was attacked by a band of zealots on his way to the Shogunate Court and was assassinated. Regardless of Ii's death, the foreign policy of the government was not changed. On January 15, 1862, Masanobu Ando, Ii's successor in the Senior Minister's

office, was also attacked by assassins, but he escaped. Thus the more difficult the foreign relations grew, the bitterer the internal conflict became; and executions and assassinations were daily happenings.

The Tokugawa Shogunate even before Commodore Perry's visit was destined to be overthrown in the nineteenth century. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, Dutch books had become popular. The so-called Dutch scholars, enlightened as to the world-situation through these Western literatures, became the pioneer advocates of the open-door policy, and introduced many new ideas into Japan. Scholars of classical learning and of national history disclosed the original national constitution in which the Emperor had been the supreme chief of the state, both *de jure* and *de facto*, and thus impressed the people with the fact that shoguns were merely political usurpers. Subsequently, the number of loyalists rapidly increased, and they boldly discussed the necessity of abolishing the Shogunate. There was still another factor which worked against the maintenance of the Tokugawa Shogunate, i.e. the powerful western *daimyo*. After the fall of the Toyotomi Clan, they had been forced to recognize the supremacy of Tokugawa, and had always been awaiting an opportunity to become independent again.

At first the Shogunate persecuted the Dutch scholars and their followers who had advocated the open-door policy. But, when it was at last obliged to consent to the demands of the Western powers, the loyalists with their foreign-exclusion doctrine bitterly criticized the Shogunate Court, and then the western *daimyo* availed themselves of this rare opportunity to stand against the Tokugawa Clan. The fanatic loyal foreign exclusionists and the discontented and ambitious western *daimyo* gathered in the Imperial Court of Kyoto and made strong protests against the Shogunate in the name of the Emperor. The prestige and power of the Tokugawa régime were thus rapidly declining, and the visit of Commodore Perry was the last and greatest incentive which precipitated the downfall of the Shogunate.

The diplomatic difficulties and the internal disturbances now got beyond the control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The intelligent *daimyo* became convinced that the Shogunate should restore all political power to the Emperor, and that only under the latter's direct command could

the nation be unified to safely meet the international difficulties. Yodo Yamanouchi and Shigenaga Asano first of all had advised Shogun Keiki to that effect. Thereupon the latter convoked a great meeting of all *daimyo* and the influential vassals at his castle in Yedo for discussion. He decided to restore all his political power to the Emperor, and on October 14, 1867, presented a petition to the Throne. It was approved the next day, and October 24, Keiki, the Fifteenth Tokugawa Shogun, resigned his grand political and military posts. Thus the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had been established by Iyeyasu, ended after two hundred and fifty-six years of the most successful feudal régime ever witnessed in history. Since Yoritomo had first established the feudal system in 1185, state affairs had been kept in the Shogun's hands, and emperors were mere figureheads of the state for six hundred and eighty-two years. But now the political institution of the state again returned to its original form, and the Emperor became the supreme chief.

All these great political transformations, however, had been completed before the masses became aware of them. The system of communication was so defective that the happenings in one part of the country were almost unknown in other distant parts, and even the upper classes had met with great difficulty in finding out the real situation before making their own decisions. Only meager information greatly mixed with scandal and exaggerated by wild rumors ran through the country, and the great mass of the people, who were ignorant and therefore credulous, remained in the dark until sometime after the new régime had been established. When the state of affairs was at last made clear, the people could scarcely believe that the Lord Shogun, of absolute power and the dignity of a god, could have been overthrown in such a short time. The western *daimyo*, the principal force which destroyed the Tokugawa régime, were really the revolutionists, who stood against the long-established Shogunate government, the *de facto* sovereign of the state. But by guarding the Imperial Court, the *de jure* sovereign, they gained the name loyalists, and the Shogun and his followers, on the contrary, were labeled the insurgents. As far as the masses were concerned, the question as to which was really right was a riddle. Therefore, about this time there was made such a saying as, "Victors of civil war, whoever they

may be, are called the loyalists, and the defeated are indiscriminately called the insurgents." Revolutions in Japan were always different in one respect from those of other countries. The *de jure* sovereignty of the state has been invariably kept by emperors, and no attempt has been made on them. In the feudal period the victors of civil wars had gained control over the Imperial Court and exercised *de facto* sovereignty in the state with imperial sanction. They branded all their rivals "rebels" and proclaimed themselves "loyalists," a term which signified justice and righteousness to the people. If communication had been well developed, there must have arisen a strong public opinion which would have withheld the power from this small number of men. Then the solution of the case might have taken a much different course, although the final result was probably the same, i.e. the restoration of *de facto* sovereignty to the Emperor.

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION IN NEW JAPAN

THE SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION IN NEW JAPAN

In this chapter the development of the system of communication and general education from the beginning of New Japan until today will be related to the growth of the printing press. For each period in our succeeding study of the newspaper, therefore, reference will have to be frequently made to the findings in this chapter.

The modern mail system in Japan originated in a novel manner. Baron Mayeshima, who, under the old régime, had spent most of his time in traveling around the country, felt deeply the defects of the communication system in Japan. From an American missionary, Mr. Williams, he learned about the Western system of mail transportation and its great influence on the more advanced achievements of the Western nations. Because of his knowledge of the English language, of his broad experience in the matter of communication under the old régime, and of his rare talent, Mayeshima, then a young man, was appointed by the new government as the Chief Secretary of the newly established Bureau of Transportation (*Ekitei Kyoku*). Immediately, in May, 1870, he opened a regular mail service between Tokyo and Osaka, covering a distance of 360 miles.

In this new mail system postage stamps came into use. At first very thin and fragile paper was used to print them, so that they could be used but once. Later the cancellation method of preventing their re-use was adopted.

By 1873 the modern mail system was extended throughout the country, and private couriers had been abolished. People were slow to understand the nature of the public mail service. They tried to beat down the postal fees, asked for the usual gifts of tea and tobacco[1] in

[1] In Old Japan it was customary for a business house to treat its customers with tea and tobacco. This is still in practice in most country towns.

post-office, and demanded the personal delivery of each piece of mail by the carrier.

It was several years before the general public became convinced of the merit of the new mail system, and the Bureau of Transportation did not have much business to do in the earlier period. For this reason it encouraged the newspapers by giving them special privileges in order to increase its own official functions. All manuscripts were exempted from postal fees, and the delivery of one copy of each paper in the metropolitan district was charged with the postage of only one-eighth of a cent. The private couriers lost their business on transmission of regular mails now, but, under the encouragement of the government officials, they established express agencies and engaged in the transportation of commodities. In 1877 Japan was admitted to the membership of the Universal Postal Union, and soon she was provided with effective postal and telegraphic systems. In 1885 the Bureau of Transportation was advanced to an independent state department, called the Department of Communication (*Teishin-Sho*).

Before the telegraph was introduced rapid communication in Japan was obtained by means of beacons, rockets, and flag signalings. Telegraphic apparatus was for the first time brought into the country by Commodore Perry of the United States in 1854, and was presented to the Tokugawa Shogun as a gift. In 1858 Nariaki Shimazu, the *daimyo* of Satsuma, established the wires in his castle and experimented with them for his personal use. In 1869 the new government established telegraphy between Tokyo and Yokohama, and gradually extended it into other localities. In 1885 it was extended throughout the country, and in 1886 both postal and telegraphic services were consolidated. Wireless telegraphy has since then been introduced, but is confined to military uses. The table on page 32 shows the development of both the postal and the telegraphic services in Japan:

The telephone was established between Yokohama and Tokyo, in 1877, and the next year the service was extended to several other localities, but for official use only. Since 1895, however, it has gradually been introduced into all large cities for general use, and at present small country towns are also provided with it. The applications for telephones

have been far in excess of the number of installations which the authorities can undertake with the funds at their disposal. At the end of

POST AND TELEGRAPH OFFICES[1]

Year	Postal-Telegraphy Offices	Post-Offices	Total Number
1871	.....	179	179
1876	.....	3,738	3,738
1881	.....	5,093	5,093
1886	1	4,053	4,054
1891	329	3,367	3,696
1898	1,269	3,056	4,325
1903	2,493	3,405	5,898
1908	3,571	3,283	6,854
1913	3,763	3,475	7,243
1916	4,029	3,305	7,334

March, 1916, the outstanding applications numbered 140,000. The introductory tables given on page 33 show the growth of telephone and telegraph service in Japan.

The first railway in Japan was begun in the spring of 1870 and completed in May, 1872. It extended 18 miles—between Tokyo and Yokohama. In July, 1870, a twenty-mile line between Osaka and Kobe was also started. In 1877 a twenty-seven mile line between Kyoto and Osaka was opened, and subsequently many new lines were gradually constructed year after year both by government and by private corporations. In 1908, however, all the important railroads owned by the private corporations were purchased by the government and put under the control of a special bureau of railways.

The opening of highways to build railroads through the mountains was an exceedingly difficult task in Japan. For this reason water transportation has always been more efficient since the beginning of national history. Under the Tokugawa régime the building of large boats was strictly prohibited both to the lords and the people, and therefore there was nothing but the small junk. After 1868, however, the number of

[1] This table was made from various sources. This is true of the succeeding tables also.

TELEPHONE SERVICE IN JAPAN

Year	Number of Subscribers	Number of Exchanges
1893	2,672	24
1898	8,064	40
1903	35,013	356
1908	78,517	997
1912	157,167	2,497
1913	181,881	2,878
1914	200,271	3,066
1915	211,540	3,135
1916	221,048	3,252

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES (MILES)

Year	Telegraph Lines	Telephone
1868	8	(Figures for the
1874	432	period between
1879	1,517	1877 and 1892
1884	2,216	not obtainable)
1889	2,570	
1891	3,070	
1893	25,356	4,400
1898	52,475	31,282
1903	84,587	113,415
1908	111,908	210,186
1913	117,763	458,662
1916	122,830	562,352

TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS IN JAPAN (MILES)

Year	Government Owned	Private	Total Miles
1872	17.69	.....	17.69
1878	64.66	.....	64.66
1883	181.53	63.63	245.36
1888	598.14	450.03	1,048.19
1893	557.47	1,482.11	2,039.60
1898	771.37	2,649.13	3,420.50
1903	1,244.70	3,150.56	4,495.47
1908	4,542.28	447.05	5,019.53
1917	5,860.00	1,700.00	7,600.00

large-sized seagoing vessels rapidly increased and, together with the development of land transportation, they have been a great factor in the national progress.

TABLE SHOWING INCREASE OF SHIPS

Year	Steam Vessels		Sailing Vessels		Junks	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
1872	96	23,364	35	8,320	18,640	331,228
1877	183	49,105	75	13,648	18,964	325,143
1882	344	42,107	432	49,094	17,309	292,876
1887	486	72,322	798	60,975	17,194	285,125
1891	607	95,588	835	50,137	18,701	316,710
1902	1,441	609,951	3,977	334,507		
1905	1,988	938,783	4,132	334,684		
1908	2,304	1,160,440	5,379	384,481	(Figures for the period after 1891 not obtainable)	
1916	2,157	1,656,238	9,031	559,677		
1917	2,129	1,711,645	10,031	641,956		

Since the Restoration of Meiji, highways have been fairly well developed throughout the country. Bridges and ferries have been perfected, mountain passes opened, and various other obstacles, which had existed under the feudal régime, have entirely disappeared. The following table shows the extension of highways in the country at the end of 1913:

HIGHWAYS IN JAPAN

National highways (42 ft. or wider)	2,178 *ri**
Prefectural highways (24–30 ft.)	9,179 *ri*
Village highways (indefinite width)	107,768 *ri*
Total	119,125 *ri*

* A *ri* is 2.44030 miles.

The largest number of vehicles for land transportation are moved by human power. For this reason the traffic is slow and inefficient. Only a small number of automobiles were in use in 1915, although since that time there has been a rapid increase, and we can safely estimate that the figures given on page 35 must now be multiplied by many times.

NUMBER OF VEHICLES IN JAPAN, DECEMBER, 1915

Vehicles	For Business	For Personal Use	Total
Omnibuses	8,516	.....	8,516
Carriages (horse and ox)	155,738	92,405	248,143
Jinrikisha (human power)	113,544	10,323	123,776
Wagons (human power)	325,169	1,339,407	1,664,576
Bicycles	48,405	568,779	617,184
Automobiles	419	825	1,224
Cars moved by human power on railways	476	.....	476
Electric cars	3,967	41	4,008
Total	656,234	2,011,689	2,667,923

EDUCATION IN NEW JAPAN

From its beginning the new régime of Meiji paid great attention to the diffusion of culture among all people. First of all, the class bar was removed from the educational circle, and equal opportunity was given to all citizens. In 1869 an ordinance relating to universities, middle schools, and elementary schools was issued, and in 1871 the State Department of Education was established to supervise and control national education. In 1872 an imperial rescript was promulgated which said, "Henceforward education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member." In the same year the compulsory public-school system was first established; and an entirely westernized education has been rapidly diffused among the younger generation of both sexes. Technical schools and higher educational institutions were also rapidly developed, and in a decade illiteracy was reduced to a small proportion. In less than a generation after the birth of New Japan she has become one of the states which has the most advanced system of public education. The table introducing page 36 shows the development of public education in Japan. From this table it will be noticed that the increase of the school attendance by girls is remarkable, although earlier in the period it was far inferior to that of boys. The educational system was first modeled on the French and American types, and later, through Herr Hausknecht, on Germanism. However, since the war a reversal has set in.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOLS

Year	Total Number of Children under Obligation (6–12 Years of Age)			Percentage Attending Schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1873.....						28.00
1879.....	The exact figures for the period 1873–1906 could not be obtained.			58.00	23.00	41.00
1893.....				91.00	72.00	82.00
1906.....				98.00	95.00	96.00
1910.....	3,902,355	3,558,817	7,461,172	98.86	97.26	98.10
1913.....	3,822,081	3,522,258	7,344,339	98.80	97.62	98.23
1915.....	3,932,091	3,645,373	7,577,464	98.80	97.67	98.26

The number of schools, teachers, and pupils in 1907 were as follows:[1]

School	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils
Elementary Schools	27,125	122,038	5,713,664
Schools for the Blind and Dumb	38	208	4,034
Normal Schools	69	1,176	19,359
Higher Normal Schools for Men	2	122	975
Higher Normal Schools for Women	1	45	365
Temporary Training Schools	4	15	87
Secondary Schools	285	5,462	111,436
Girls' High Schools	132	2,011	40,272
High Schools (University Schools)	7	291	4,888
Imperial Universities	3	503	7,370
Professional Schools	53	1,745	26,318
Industrial Schools	5,284	5,738	250,090
Training Schools for Industrial Teachers	3	.....	173
Various Other Schools	2,173	7,705	150,668
Total	35,179	147,059	6,329,699

Since 1907 there has been a considerable development of all sorts of schools. Especially have the organs for higher education been improved in 1919 by the increase of high schools, higher technical colleges, and imperial universities on the one hand, and by recognizing an equal standard of privileges for high schools, colleges, and universities, of private and national establishment, on the other.

[1] Okuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, p. 172.

The first public library was established in 1872. It has developed into the Imperial Library of Tokyo. Since 1881 when library regulations were issued the establishment of both public and private libraries has been encouraged. In 1915 there were altogether 667, of which 264 were of public, and 403 of private, maintenance. Many schools also have their own libraries open to the public. The best-equipped libraries are the Imperial Library of Tokyo and the library attached to the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1915 the former contained 522,887 volumes, of which 437,414 were of Japanese and Chinese books and 85,437 foreign. In the same year the latter library had a total of 504,000 volumes—274,000 Japanese and Chinese and 230,000 foreign books.

Thus, since the beginning of the new era, the systems of communication and education have begun to improve. The restrictions against the freedom of discussion have been greatly diminished. The result is a rapid development of the modern printing press.

CHAPTER VI

AMATEUR JOURNALISM

In the preceding chapter we have examined the history of the systems of communication and of education, the two most important factors in the development of public opinion, and we have found that they have had a rapid and constant development. Among all means of communication which grew up with New Japan the most important one for political development was the newspaper. As soon as the barriers against free communication of speech and the press were partially lifted in 1868, newspapers began to make their appearance. During its first several years journalism was run primarily by amateurs who hoped to make themselves known by means of it. From the earliest period the dominant interest in most papers was political, especially anti-government propaganda. Therefore these early papers may be called political journals, but it is not proper to characterize them as "party organs," because there was no organized political party in Japan until 1880.

The modern Japanese newspaper originated in the translation of Western newspapers by the government. In 1811 the Tokugawa Shogunate made it a part of the work of the Astronomical Observatory to translate Western literature. Under the régime of Shogun Yoshimune (1713–44) Dutch literature had been introduced, and until 1860 it was the only Western literature studied by the Japanese. But in 1860 English, French, German, and Russian were also taken up by the Department of Translation, which name was then changed to the "Bureau for the Investigation of Western Literatures" (*Yosho Shirabedokoro*). This bureau was the origin of the Kaisei College, the present Imperial University of Tokyo.[1] Yorozuya Heishiro, the director of the bureau,

[1] In 1868 the new government changed the name of the Kaisei College to the Daigaku Nanko, and in 1877 it was combined with the Tokyo Medical College and was named the Tokyo University. Then it had four departments—law, medicine, science, and literature. In 1886 its name was again changed to the Tokyo Imperial University, and subsequently many more departments were added.

in 1864 published the translation of a Dutch newspaper of Batavia, Java, as the *Batavia News* (*Kamban Batavia Shimbun*). This paper was printed by means of movable wood types, invented at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was sold to the public through the Rohokan bookstore by the government's order. The contents were a sort of foreign news, which, being quite out of date, could not constitute a newspaper in a strict sense.

In the same year the *Foreign News* (*Kaigai Shimbun*), a translation of New York war news, and three other papers of similar nature made their appearance. They were the *Universal News* (*Rikugo Sodan*), *Hongkong Shimbun*, and *Foreign News* (*Kaigai Shimpo*), all of which were sold through the Rohokan bookstore. They were broadsides, printed on several sheets of *hanshi*,[1] and containing no editorial, no political or other contemporary news of Japan, and no advertising. The readers were limited to a small number of educated *samurai*, and the circulation was insignificant, perhaps several hundred for each issue.

In March, 1868, under the new régime, the *Dajokan Nisshi* (*Diary of the Privy Council*) was published in Kyoto, and in May of the same year *Kojo Nisshi* (*Diary of Yedo Castle*) was published. As they were government enterprises, a large number of copies were printed and distributed regardless of expense. The subscribers were principally the officers of the central and local governments and school teachers. These two papers were the origin of the new government's official gazette which has further developed.

Having been stimulated by the central government's example, organs were published by prefectural authorities, numbers of private newspapers appeared, and by the end of 1868 there were ten official gazettes and fifteen private papers. They had few editorials, and the greater part of the paper was filled with general news of the civil war which was going on at that time. The following article by Mr. Ishikawa illustrates the situation of those days:

> The *Hochi Shimbun* was the first government organ published through the suggestion of Mitsu Mayejima, the Minister of Communication, and was called the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* (*Mail Reporting News*). At that time this paper was proud of being a government organ.

[1] Japanese paper 9½×12 inches.

In Matsumoto of the Prefecture of Shinano there is a paper called the *Shinano Nippo*, which name was given by me in 1895. Its origin was the *Shimpi Shimbun*, which was published by the Prefectural Office when the Chikuma Prefectural Office was in Matsumoto in the early period of the era of Meiji. Prefectural Governor Moriteru Noguyama had consulted with Chiaki Watanabe, his first secretary, and reached the conclusion that for the purpose of enlightening the local population there is nothing more effective than the publication of newspapers. Thereupon he established the Bureau of Newspapers and summoned the local scholars and influential citizens to his office. There he appointed the former as the officers of the new Bureau and ordered the latter to become subscribers of the newspaper which was to be published by the Bureau. These people considered this command a great honor and privilege. The fact that the newspaper carrier visited a house soon became a sign of an illustrious family, and the wealthy people from every village called at the Prefectural Office to beg for the privilege of becoming an honorable subscriber for the newspaper. Thereupon the petitions were granted for the reason that these people had an admirable mode of thinking. It sounds absurd now, but it was a real fact, and if we further investigate the matter, we might find many such cases in other localities also.[1]

The first modern type of private newspaper was published in 1863 by an Englishman in Yokohama. However, it was a small paper printed only in English and was discontinued in a few months. The first newspaper of this kind published in Japan in the vernacular appeared in 1864. It was published by Ginko Kishida at his home, 142 Umeda-Cho, Yokohama. The following is an extract:

I published my first newspaper in 1864. The motive of my newspaper enterprise lay in my acquaintance with Joseph Hikozo, from America, while I was engaged in the publication of an English-Japanese dictionary in co-operation with Dr. Hebon of Yokohama. Joseph Hikozo is a native of Japan, a fisherman by name of Hikozo, and was born in the Prefecture of Harima. In his eleventh year he was cast adrift on the ocean and arrived in America in his little boat. He was educated there, and in 1853 came to Japan as Commodore Perry's official interpreter. He was provided with a residence in Yokohama by the Shogunate. At that time I happened to be living with Dr. Hebon, and there I met Hikozo for the first time. I kept up my friendship with him, dis-

[1] Hanzan Ishikawa, special article in *Shimbun Kogiroku*, pp. 5–6.

cussed with him things about foreign countries, and learned English from him. In those days a Senzo Homma of Kakegawa in the Prefecture of Harima lived in Yokohama studying English, who also visited Hikozo frequently. One day Hikozo told us that in America there is a thing called a newspaper. It collects interesting news of daily events, and the publication of that news is distributed to the public. Previous to this I had been convinced already of the usefulness of the newspaper, but simply did not know the method of its publication. Now, having been enlightened and persuaded by Hikozo, I decided at last to try it. Then Hikozo translated Western newspapers, and Homma and I wrote the translations out in plain Japanese. In those days there were no movable types and I had to write the block copies myself, and engrave and print them on five or six pages of *Hanshi* (writing paper in size 9½×12 inches). This was in 1864, and is the origin of newspapers and periodical press in Japan.[1]

In spite of such strenuous effort, this enterprise did not arouse much interest in the public and failed after only a two months' trial.

In January, 1867, a Dutchman named Berry published the *Bankoku Shimbun* (*Universal News*). He was a graduate of Cambridge University and came to Yokohama as a missionary. With the little time he could spare he began a trial of newspaper publication, employing Zendo Ajiki as his assistant. At first it contained only the translations of Western newspapers, but after its tenth edition it added domestic news. This was the first newspaper published by a foreigner in the vernacular, and was also the pioneer in the use of Western paper in printing presses. Its price was at first three sen a copy, later two sen. After six months' trial it was also stopped.

The fourth journal appearing was the *Seiyo Zasshi* (*Western Magazine*), published monthly by Shinzo Yanagawa in October, 1867. It was a translation of scientific articles which had appeared in Western newspapers, and sold for two sen a copy. The first issue contained the following announcement:

> We beg to announce to the public that our purpose in publishing this magazine is to increase our general knowledge by gathering new theories and opinions from all over the world, like the "Magazine," a sort of newspaper published monthly in Western countries.

[1] Kamezo Asakura, *Hompo Shimbun-shi*, pp. 29–30.

Only four numbers were issued, but this was the origin of periodical literature in Japan.

The same person who had conducted the publication of the *Western Magazine* established *Chugai Shimbun* (*Domestic and Foreign News*) soon after the former was stopped. This paper became so popular that every issue was to have been reprinted. Unfortunately, however, it was also discontinued after February 20, 1870, the date of the death of its proprietor. The success of this paper was probably due to the use of movable wood types.

It was an exceedingly difficult task to maintain a newspaper in those early days because of the general illiteracy, the imperfect printing devices, the undeveloped means of communication and transportation, and finally, the limited resources by which the papers were maintained, advertisements being unknown.

The possibilities of newspapers could not be realized until the movable types came into use. In the old days there was just one set of movable wood types, which first was used by the government and later was transmitted to a private newspaper; but a majority of the newspapers used the hand-engraved wood blocks. In 1870 Shozo Motogi, the superintendent of the Nagasaki Steel Mill, studied the art of European printing under a Dutchman, and in 1869, with his two assistants Yo and Ki, he completed the method of manufacturing movable lead types, and sent his men to Osaka to open a lead-type foundry there. M. Izeki, the governor of the Prefecture of Kanagawa, then formed a plan to start a newspaper with Yo as editor, and to introduce his movable lead types. The first issue of the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* (*Yokohama Daily*) appeared December 12, 1870. This was the first daily newspaper published in Japan. It adopted the editorial system of Western newspapers and used Western print paper, although more expensive than the native papers in those days, and its novelty gradually brought it a large circulation. Later its establishment was transferred to Tokyo.

In the early days most newspapers were printed by large book publishers. They could afford to print a small number of copies and were better able to sell them than the journalists. Later on, however, when circulation increased, every newspaper office established its own printing-

shop and delivered the paper by its own carriers. Thus we see three stages in the development of newspaper publication: (1) Paper was printed and published by the editors themselves; (2) circulation too large for private control was managed by book publishers; (3) a well-equipped printing-shop was provided in the newspaper office itself.

Newspaper carriers in the beginning wore dress coats. They visited houses from the back doors and after talking, smoking, and drinking tea leisurely, pulled out their papers from handbags and slowly left. These carriers were perhaps ex-*samurai*, who were strictly educated for good manners, but who did not make very prompt messengers. Thereupon a new device was introduced. Newspaper carriers were dressed in plain light dress and were given lacquer boxes in which to carry papers. This box was attached to one end of a long pole, and at its other end was fixed a bell which attracted attention as the carrier went about delivering papers.

In November, 1874, *Yomiuri Shimbun* attached *kana* (Japanese syllabary) to all difficult Chinese ideographs so that the less-educated people could read them. The circulation increased enormously, and many other papers soon followed that example. The first paper which used *kana* was the *Tokyo Kanaji Shimbun*, which appeared on January 25, 1873. In April, 1875, *Tokyo Eire Shimbun* (*Illustrated Tokyo News*) was established. It published human-interest stories beautifully illustrated by the famous artist Yoshichika, and it met with great success. Its circulation at once reached 30,000. All these popular papers were called "Small-Newspaper," while those which published the political matters and editorials without using *kana* were named "Great-Newspaper" at that time. As time went on, however, each of these classes of papers gradually approached the other, small papers having adopted some political editorials in order to raise their dignity, while the great papers adopted more general news and human-interest stories in order to increase their circulation.

In the earlier days the "newspaper dictionary" was in popular use. This contained the words and phrases generally used in journalistic literature. The "Small-Newspaper" diminished the difficulty of reading, however, and the demand increased so rapidly that the old hand

press became inadequate. This situation was relieved, however, by the introduction of the steam engine from the West, which was first adopted by newspapers about 1874. The steam press stimulated a rapid growth of Japanese journalism. Advertisements in newspapers are relatively late developments in Japan. The earlier newspapers were maintained by the income from subscriptions and gifts.

The prototypes of commercial advertisements were signboards, shop curtains, handbills, posters, seasonal compliments marked with shop names and trade-marks, and musicians who made announcements in the streets.

About 1688 a few authors introduced a device for the announcement of new books which was the origin of commercial advertising in published matter. They printed the names of books, which were to appear on the last page of each new book. Bakin, the greatest novelist of the Tokugawa Period, in his *Godairiki*, Vol. II, printed the following advertisement:

CUSTOMARY ANNOUNCEMENT

Various new models of tobacco-bags and pipes for sale. Also Tokushogan (name of patent medicine) at 1½ momme of silver (momme is about 2 drams) a package. Kikonno-Tanoshimi (patent medicine for indigestion), made of gall of bear without mixture of starch, is newly advertised. Stamps are engraved either on metal or stone as you wish—one word on stone is ½ momme of silver. When orders are sent from distant places, patrons are requested to inclose both the materials for engraving and the fee.

How the authors of those days managed to live can be imagined from the fact that even with his genius Bakin had to conduct such an irksome side business.

Later advertisements took the form of fiction. Large business houses paid generous fees to popular authors to insert the names of their merchandise in some part of their stories.[1]

Handbills came into use about 1700. These contained names, prices, and descriptions of merchandise. In 1769 a man named Hyosuke

[1] Kamezo Asakura, *Hompo Shimbun-shi*, pp. 21–23.

Ebisuya advertised his tooth powder with an interesting story, written on handbills by a famous writer, Gennai Hiraga. The story was:

TOOTH POWDER IN BOX

SO-SEKI-KO

Whitens Teeth & Purifies Mouth

20 bags in 1 box—72 *mon*
Refilling empty box—48 *mon*

MESSAGE

Ladies & Gentlemen:

Notice! We intended to get so rich that we could build eight magnificent buildings for our mansion, surrounded by beautiful warehouses on all four sides, but alas! in vain. The succeeding misfortunes and continuous failures in our business have pressed us so hard that we can no longer do as we wish. At this very critical moment, however, a certain kind-hearted person has sympathized and taught us how to start a business which does not need any capital. What is it? Since present-day people are all intelligent and well-informed of such simple practices as this, to conceal the source of our prescription must be too absurd a policy. Consequently we inform the public as to how this powder is made. It is simply a sort of sand abundantly found in the Boshu district, as all tooth powders are today. The dealers merely add to it a pleasant odor, and give it different names according to their wits to attract the attention of the patrons. Therefore it is primarily a cheap thing indeed. But by making bags, printing designs, etc., considerable expenses are added to its manufacture, and consequently it is sold at a high price. In order to cut these unnecessary expenses we put the full quantity of twenty bags in one large box, and make it handier for the user, so that no bags get soiled and broken nor brush be soiled while in use. With the idea to receive more profit by selling a larger quantity we give this to you directly with more or less smaller profit than the other tooth powders.

Although I myself am an illiterate and ignorant person and know nothing about the prescription, a certain person has told me that this tooth powder, first of all, whitens teeth, then purifies mouth, cures the foul breath, refreshes the respiratory organs, and has still innumerably more valuable effects,—as much as the bulk of the Mount Fuji. Whether this guaranty is true or not I do not know at all, being perfectly ignorant in such matters; but at any rate

its principal end is in cleansing the teeth, and as to other enumerated excellent virtues there should be no harm done even if they were absolutely in non-existence. Furthermore, since the person who gave this prescription to me is not completely an idiot, I believe that probably there would be no harm in it, and therefore I selected the materials just as he told me, made this powder most carefully, and put it on sale at once because I am very badly in need of money now. If by any chance it may prove no good after a while, you may just cast it away, and, after all, it will be an insignificant loss to you, while as for myself the proverb "little drops of water make the mighty ocean" may prove perfectly true, and your little purchase will thus benefit me enormously. Then, if you did not care to buy it again after using it once, I should have no reason whatsoever to be spiteful. Or, on the other hand, if it proves satisfactory to you, please tell your friends of its unusual merit; and then by the patronage of the general public our business will more and more prosper and we will soon be able to march out in the main street and put up a dazzling golden sign-board. Thereupon our present miserable situation will pass away and remain simply as an amusing recollection of the by-gone days' experience. Therefore we beg for the co-operation of all of you from the four corners of the earth!

November of the Year of Cow.
Sosuke Kawai, without capital,
a resident of a back-alley tenement of Teppo-Cho.
Sold at the Shop of
Hyosuke Ebisuya,
also in a back-alley tenement,
South Side, 4 Chome, Moto Shirokane Cho.

You will find a cheap sign-board in the alley entrance across the Kannon Temple. Naturally we have no branch stores nor agents at all, nor are our goods sold by auctioneers. But, I myself may call on you once in a while.[1]

Books which were made solely for advertising then appeared (1781–88), such as the dictionary of the business houses of Yedo, list of hotels, restaurants, etc. Thus books, patent medicines, toilet articles, and notions were the first things which resorted to commercial advertisement.

The *Bankoku Shimbun*, which Berry established in Yokohama, 1866, published advertisements for the first time. Other newspapers follow-

[1] *Shimbun Kogiroku*, chapter on "Business Methods," pp. 10–13.

ing the example of the *Bankoku Shimbun*, gave space to a small amount of advertising matter, with no idea of making it a part of their income. At that time advertisements had no prestige, as it was thought that they were used only by adventurers. A sudden change was brought about, however, when in 1890 the corporations were required to advertise their balance sheets regularly in newspapers. About the same time public notices and registrations at courts of law were also required to be published. This convinced the public of the legitimacy of advertising. At first the public was persuaded to advertise free of charge in newspapers. A little later, when the demand for advertising began to increase, small fees were charged and the rate was gradually raised. The real development of newspaper advertising, however, did not come until after the Japan-China War (1894–95).

The opening of free communication by the Restoration of 1868 and the unusual interest in news caused by the subsequent civil wars and political disputes gave rise to the modern newspaper. From 1868 to 1873 the newspapers contained primarily news. Editorials were found in the *Koko Shimbun* and a few others. But soon a change came. In 1874 when the Korean problem split the government and divided national opinion, and again in the same year when a joint memorial requesting an immediate establishment of a national assembly was addressed to the government by Goto, Soyejima, Itagaki, and five other prominent statesmen, political discussions began to attract the attention of the public. The number of newspapers and their circulation suddenly increased. Until then the circulation of large metropolitan papers was not more than a few thousand, but soon it passed the 10,000 mark, and in 1877 the *Choya* had 19,000. Publishing expenses in those days were small because only a small number of men were employed. The subscription prices were from 60 to 80 sen a month, two or three times the present prices, and business competition was not sharp. Therefore most large newspapers made a fair profit and journalists flourished. By June 28, 1872, there were 79 newspapers, and to these were added 43 in 1874, 59 in 1875, 108 in 1876, and 140 in 1877. Deducting those which were discontinued, there were 253 newspapers in 1881. The total yearly circulation of 225 newspapers at the end of 1877 was 37,683,330. This

great increase of circulation was due to the civil wars, political agitations, development of communication, and diffusion of general education at that time. The violent tone of anti-government editorials, however, soon necessitated the provision of a stricter press law. This was promulgated in April, 1875, and caused a large number of newspaper offices and journalists to be punished.

CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF NEW JAPAN

The restoration of political power from the Shogun to the Emperor was smoothly accomplished by the quick decision and wise management of Shogun Keiki and his officials. Many of his faithful *daimyo*, who were the hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa Clan, however, began to feel uneasy and indignant when they saw the new government was run by the Western *Daimyo*, especially by the men of the Satsuma and the Choshu clans, who had been the principal enemies of the Shogunate at the latter part of its régime, and that very few of Tokugawa's adherents were admitted to office. At last a great conflict took place between Keiki's followers and the combined troops of many western *daimyo*. After a sharp encounter, Keiki's force was badly defeated and retreated north, while Keiki himself fled on a boat and returned to Yedo.

Now the Satsuma and the Choshu clans became the chief power in the new government. They decided to force the Tokugawa Clan into submission to the new régime, and thus to prevent any further internal disturbances. In January, 1868, a large expeditionary force started for Yedo, where a bloody civil war was approaching. At this critical moment, however, through a wise and farsighted arrangement made between Takamori Saigo, the chief staff officer of the Imperial Army, and Awa Katsu, the commander in chief of Tokugawa's force, the disputes were settled peacefully on April 11, 1868, and Keiki retired from public life.

At the end of the Tokugawa régime, when foreign relations became very difficult, the Shogun's Court convoked a great meeting of all *daimyo* to discuss the foreign policy of the country. That marked the beginning of a popular form of government in Japan. Contrary to previous practices, the Shogunate also asked for the imperial opinion as to the most serious diplomatic problems, and introduced the interference by

the Imperial Court thereafter. Such a practice was a step toward the participation of a larger number of the population in state affairs, and proved fatal to the further existence of the feudal régime. Now the new government was organized by the men mostly of the southern clans, excluding the former adherents of the Tokugawa Shogunate. This was not, therefore, a fair representative government, and naturally the excluded northerners were not pleased with it. It was clear, however, that the trend of the time was such that this sort of partially represented administrative system could not be well maintained, because even the old Tokugawa régime in its later period had accepted the representations of all lords and of the Imperial Court regarding important foreign affairs. Consequently, in order to avoid a misunderstanding of the general public as to the new administrative policy, and to pacify the discontented anti-governmental elements, the following public oath by the Emperor was proclaimed on March 14, 1868:

1. A widely representative Congress shall be established and all state affairs shall be referred to the national opinion.

2. The government and the governed shall unite one in heart and perform the state functions conscientiously.

3. Civil and military officials as well as the general masses shall be encouraged to attain their respective desires, and the public mind shall be prevented from becoming tired and discouraged.

4. Time-honored absurd customs shall be abolished and universal justice shall be the basis of all practices.

5. Seek for knowledge all over the world, and thus greatly stimulate the development of the foundations of our Imperial policy.

With a desire to bring about an unprecedented change in our history, I, myself, preceding my subjects, swear the above-stated five articles before the Gods in Heaven and on Earth; and I wish to establish a national policy. You, my subjects, in conformity with this principle, also exert yourselves to the utmost for the accomplishment of this end!

This Charter Oath is sometimes called the "Japanese Magna Charta." From its spirit the later Imperial Constitution was developed. This was, therefore, the beginning of the struggle for freedom of speech in Japan.

The new government was organized under the direct command of the late Emperor Meiji, then a boy of fifteen. It had a cabinet with

one premier, a vice-premier, seven departmental ministers, and an advisory body of eighteen state councilors. The rudimentary organization of the administrative body was now complete. However, the income from the Imperial Household Estates was the government's only resource, the country being still under the direct rule of two hundred and seventy-six *daimyo*. The restoration of state affairs was so far merely nominal. The real power was not yet in the central government. Therefore, the Satsuma and the Choshu, the two most influential clans, proposed to surrender their fiefs to the Emperor. Kido, a retainer of the Choshu Clan, was the originator of this movement, and Okubo and Saigo of the Satsuma Clan at once persuaded their lords to follow this example. Hizen and Tosa, two other large western *daimyo*, did likewise, and on January 20, 1869, four of these *daimyo* presented a joint petition to the Emperor asking for his permission to restore their fiefs to him. On June 17, 1869, the petitions of these and other *daimyo* were approved, and feudalism was at last abolished. Two hundred and sixty-one ex-*daimyo* had been appointed to the governorship of their old fiefs, and these were allowed one-tenth of their former revenues. Their retainers were given official positions under them with a certain fixed income. Under this rule the people continued to pay more respect to their ex-feudal lords than to the new Imperial government. Therefore, on July 14, 1871, an Imperial decree was issued, which entirely abolished the remnants of the feudal system, and removed the ex-*daimyo* from their offices. The state was then divided into three urban prefectures and seventy-two prefectures with the governors directly appointed by the central government. Now for the first time the organization of a strongly centralized Imperial government was complete.

These great works of the restoration were not originally promoted either by the court nobles or by the large *daimyo*. The real dynamo was the genius among the lower *samurai* class as expressed by Kido, Iwakura, Saigo, Okubo. The ordinary *samurai*, or middle class of Old Japan, were in close contact with the situation existing among both the upper classes and the common people. Therefore they were the only class which really understood the national situation and the public need of the time.

After the Restoration of the Meiji, Japan's attitude toward the Western countries changed entirely. She realized the superiority of Western civilization and began to imitate it with an amazing rapidity. Neighboring states of Asia, particularly China and Korea, looked upon this national awakening as a sign of national weakness and lack of self-respect; and they turned their haughty and scornful looks toward Japan.

In 1873 Korea refused to accept the Japanese envoy without any cause, and, furthermore, a high Korean official posted a placard at the gate of the Japanese legation with the taunting inscription, "Japan bowed cowardly before the Western barbarians." This incident greatly angered the Japanese people, and clamor for war against Korea spread like wildfire. At this time Korea was nominally a dependency of China. The Japanese government therefore sent an inquiry to the Chinese government to ascertain that fact, and received a decidedly negative reply. The majority opinion in the Japanese government swung in favor of war, led by the Great Saigo, then the idol of the military party and one of the foremost statesmen in the country. Shigenobu Okuma, Kaoru Inouye, and Awa Katsu, the minority leaders, stood in vigorous opposition. After the return of Prince Iwakura, and his assistants Kido and Okubo, from their mission to the Western countries, an extraordianry conference was called before His Majesty in the Imperial Court. There Okubo's vigorous argument against war turned the whole tide of the government's attitude, and war was avoided.

The resentment of the defeated war party, however, grew until a large number of them, headed by Marshal Saigo, presented their resignations, which were accepted. The government was now in the hands of peace-loving civilian officials, who paid their greatest attention to internal improvement and so enraged the discontented militarists who filled the country that an outbreak of civil war threatened.

On January 14, 1874, the Minister-of-the-Right, Prince Iwakura, one of the leading pacifists, was attacked by nine assassins and badly injured. A few weeks after that a rebellion was started at Saga of Kyushu Island by Shimpei Ito, who had recently resigned his high official position of Minister of Justice and of State Councilor on account

of the Korean problem. After a two months' warfare the insurrection was suppressed, and on April 13 Ito and his twelve lieutenants were executed as the first victims of the rebel law which Ito himself, as Minister of Justice, had made. Of the rest of the rebel force, 136 were sentenced to the penitentiary, 240 were deprived of their titles, 7 were imprisoned, and 10,713 were pardoned.

While civil war was still going on, another international difficulty arose. In July, 1871, fifty Japanese subjects were shipwrecked. They drifted to Formosa and, there, all but about twelve of them were killed and devoured by the natives. In March, 1873, another Japanese boat drifted to that island, and her occupants met with a similar fate. Thereupon Japan requested an explanation from China. The latter, in whose mind Japan was almost non-existent at this period, haughtily disclaimed any responsibility, stating that the part of Formosa where the Japanese subjects had been killed was not Chinese territory. The indignation of the Japanese public grew so strong that even those who had vigorously opposed war at the time of the Korean incident now unanimously requested the government to send an expeditionary force to Formosa. Two months' warfare ensued, and the Formosa savages were completely subjugated. Japan, then, established a system of colonization to the great surprise of China, who made a strong protest by insisting that she had neither disclaimed her territorial sovereignty over Formosa nor received previously any notice from Japan. All these false charges were easily disproved, but China kept up her protest with every new pretext, and the situation grew critical. Only by the mediation of the British Minister to China at the last moment was a diplomatic break avoided, and China paid a small indemnity for the settlement of the disputes.

The new government was opposed not only by neighboring states but by a large number of conservatives at home who were greatly dissatisfied. The sudden abolition of the privilege of wearing swords by the *samurai*, the changes of men's custom of wearing the hair long, the abolition of hereditary pensions which the *samurai* class had received for the past 700 years, and many other sudden changes in social, political, and economic institutions, naturally raised many complaints and

provoked strong antagonisms among the conservatives. Thus, militarists, conservatives, and radicals were all opposed to the existing government at this time.

Rebellion after rebellion of the discontented *samurai* occurred all over the country. The most serious of these was the uprising of more than 20,000 students of the fifteen private colleges which were established and conducted by Marshal Saigo near the city of Kagoshima. Saigo himself was too thoughtful a person to start such a disorderly movement, and, when his students begged him so to act, he kindly cautioned them. But the insurgent spirit of his young followers gradually grew so intense that while their master was out hunting in the distant mountains they raised the standard of revolution, February 15, 1877, and marched on to meet the government's forces. They were the picked youths of the Prefecture of Satsuma, whom Saigo had trained for many months, and they defeated the Imperial Army in the first clash. The news reached Saigo while in the mountains. He hurried home, and was at once elected commander in chief of all rebel forces. The governor and other officials of the prefectural government joined Saigo, and turned over the government treasures and ammunition to him. The report that the Great Saigo himself at last stood as the leader of the insurrection attracted a large number of his admirers far and near, and by hundreds and thousands they rushed toward Kagoshima from all directions of the island of Kyushu. Rapid action by the government kept the disturbance from the main island (Hon-to), and after eight months of continuous bloody fighting the rebel force was subdued. Saigo and his lieutenants were killed in the field, September 24, and the war was ended.

Saigo, Okubo, and Kido are called the "Three Heroes of the Restoration of the Meiji," because they were the central figures of the Imperialist party in that great historical event. Saigo was killed on the battle field under the ignominious name of the "Rebel Chief." Kido died about the same time. And Okubo, the last of the "Three Heroes," was assassinated May 14, 1878, after having established the local autonomy of prefectures, counties, and villages under a representative form of government.

As previously stated, it was indeed Okubo who defeated Saigo in the Korean incident. Of the three heroes, Saigo represented the military party; Okubo represented the civilian class; and Kido stood between them as arbitrator. Many people thought Okubo the cause of Saigo's death, and so were determined that he should not remain unpunished and prosper alone.

The *Choya Shimbun* published a detailed account of the assassination the day after its occurrence, and thereupon its publication was suspended for a while, although no editor was punished. The following is the translation of the full article, which appeared in the general news column of No. 1412 issue of the *Choya Shimbun*, published on May 15, 1878:

What a sad day the May 14, 1878, was for us! A terrible incident happened in our government. It was a quiet morning with dusky sky when a reporter came in great haste and told the following incident:

About 8:20 in the morning, when Mr. Okubo, Minister of the Interior, was approaching Shimizudani near Ki-oi Cho in his carriage on the way to visit the Premier's office, six assassins, who were in ambush in the mulberry fields on both sides of the road, suddenly sprang out with swords flashing in their hands. They first attacked the horses, one of which was instantly killed. The other fell flat from severe wounds, and the carriage turned sideways. They then attacked from all directions, and after killing the driver with three strokes they pulled the Minister out of the carriage, the six blades flashed in the air, and fell upon him simultaneously. The Lord Minister at last evanesced like dew drops on the roadside. The wounds are said to be two cuts on the forehead, one on the neck, one on the back, one on the abdomen, one on the leg, as well as other serious wounds.

While the horses were being killed, a footman attached to the lord's carriage ran at top speed and reported the incident to three precincts and two police stations. Thereupon a police force was immediately hurried to the scene. Before they arrived, however, the assassins had thrown their six bloody swords on the roadside, and run to the gate of the Bureau of the Imperial Household and surrendered themselves. The names of the six are:

I. Shimada (30 years old)
R. Osa (24 years old)
O. Sugimoto (29 years old)
B. Sugimura (17 years old)
K. Wakiya (28 years old)
J. Asai (25 years old)

The first five are the *samurai* of the Prefecture of Ishikawa, and the last is of the Prefecture of Shimane. When they were arrested, all of them looked perfectly natural, showing no sign of emotion, and, some of them even smiling pleasantly. They were soon taken to the Third Department from the Imperial Household Bureau. After this incident, a number of horsemen and police superintendents strongly guarded the gate to the Imperial Palace.

The Lord Minister's body was wrapped in blankets and taken to his home, where a short time later Mr. Nakakoji, a chamberlain, arrived with a special Imperial message of condolence. When the incident was reported to the Imperial Palace, several court physicians were at once hurried to the scene on horseback, but it was all over when they arrived. From the high officials down to the common people, all, without exception, were deeply stricken with horror and grief. The assassination of the Senior Minister Ii at Sakurada Gate under the Old Régime coming to our minds, it deepens our grief exceedingly, and our pen becoming confused, for which our readers will kindly pardon us.

Now, in connection with this incident, there was another surprise. About 3 A.M., upon opening the contribution box there was found among the number of contributed articles a sealed letter bearing the name of R. Umemoto, No. 6 Suido-Cho, Koishikawa. It contained a writing titled "Zankan Jo" (Announcement of Assassinating the Wicked Man), signed by Ichiro Shimada and five others, whom we have mentioned above. In the postscript they asked that every newspaper kindly publish the enclosed announcement, since they were going to assassinate Minister Okubo on his way today.

The contents of this announcement briefly stated that the crimes committed by Lord Okubo were: (1) By suppressing public discussions and restricting the people's natural rights, he used politics for his selfish purposes; (2) by enforcing laws arbitrarily and committing favoritism openly, he gained his position and power; (3) by starting public works not immediately necessary and by making unnecessary repairs, he wasted national wealth; (4) by showing dislike for the true statesmen and nationalistic men, he caused internal disturbances; (5) by misdirecting international diplomacy, he injured the national dignity.

This explanation was written on thirteen pages of ruled writing paper in detail in excellent literary style. As it was an extraordinarily serious matter, however, it could not be published without official permission. The matter was reported to the third police station of the first precinct, where the letter is being kept in temporary custody.

The letter also contained a statement regretting their failure to join the heroic dead of Saigo last year in spite of their ardent desire to do so. It is said that these *samurai* are the members of the so-called "Chukoku Sha" (Warning Society). Further report will be made in the official gazette.[1]

The following is a part of the letter mentioned by the *Choya Shimbun*, for which that paper was punished:

ZANKAN JO (ANNOUNCEMENT OF ASSASSINATING THE WICKED MAN)

We, Ichiro Shimada and others, the *samurai* of the Prefecture of Ishikawa, with the utmost respect report to His Majesty Our Emperor and announce to the Brethren of more than thirty million:

After sincere and careful observations, we, Ichiro and others have come to the conclusion that recent laws and edicts have not been made either by the gracious mind of His Majesty above nor by the public opinion of the people below, but are simply made by the conjectures and arbitrary decisions of a few unscrupulous officials in powerful positions. . . . . Because of the unruliness of these wicked authorities it is dangerous for the future destiny of our nation to allow them to remain longer in their positions "pulling strings."

Those who would make an immediate adjustment of our political affairs should exterminate these unprincipled officials, to free the state of these harms on one hand and rescue the people from their sufferings on the other. By doing so patriotism can be aroused and the nation rescued from its weakening tendency. Consequently, after a careful scrutiny of the master-criminals who deserve to be exterminated, Koin Kido was selected first of all, then Toshimichi Okubo, and Tomomi Iwakura. Shigenobu Okuma, Hirobumi Ito, Kiyotaka Kuroda, and Toshiyoshi Kawakami were also pronounced unpardonable. As for such mediocre personages as Sanjo (then the Premier) and other equally undesirable officials, they are not even worthy of our consideration: if the roots are cut, twigs and leaves shall naturally wither away.

In the execution of this task, however, we, Ichiro and his comrades, were too few in number to bring about these great punishments. Therefore, we hoped merely to get rid of either one of the two master-criminals, Koin and Toshimichi. But unexpectedly Koin died of illness. This shows, no doubt, Heaven had taken up the punishment of one of the greatest rascals in its

[1] Gaikotsu Miyatake, *Shikka Shi*, pp. 117–18.

own hands and now wished that we kill the other, and complete the extermination of both. Hereupon, we, Ichiro and others, obeying the will of Heaven and following the wishes of the people, swing our sharp swords and execute the master-crook Toshimichi. As to the rest of the wicked officials, we believe that there will be someone under the sky who shall succeed our aim, and that these criminals shall not escape.

Your humble subjects Ichiro and others humbly report to His Majesty and announce to our Brethren of the entire state that we commit this violence under the strain of an intolerable situation, and that our only thought is for the promotion of national welfare in sacrificing our lives. We beg to advise that the improvement of political conditions and the development of our national welfare in the future shall depend on the wisdom of His Majesty and on the public opinion expressed by his subjects. In conformity with the written Oath of Restoration of Meiji, and also with the Imperial Edict of April, 1875, we beg that official arbitrariness be corrected, that public opinion be known by the establishment of a National Assembly; and thus may the prosperity of our Imperial House, the safety of our country, and the peace and happiness of our people be secured. If this be fortunately accomplished, the insignificant souls of Ichiro and others would have fulfilled their desires, and so can sleep quietly in peace after death.

Therefore, at the moment when we are resolved to die, looking up to Heaven and bowing down to Earth, we most sincerely express our humble opinions and accuse the officials of their crimes. Thus do we appeal to Imperial decision as well as public opinion! We, Ichiro and others, can scarcely endure the emotion and love with which we are overwhelmed!

With the greatest respect,

(Signed) Ichiro Shimada
Rengo Osa
Otokiku Sugimoto
Koichi Wakiya
Bunichi Sugimura
Jutoku Asai

May 14, 1878

This manifesto shows the unquestionable sincerity of these assassins. Both the assassins and the assassinated were sincere patriots of the age; both martyrs for their cause. Until this time, even while Saigo's insurrection was going on, the government censoring of newspapers was very

liberal. After the assassination of Okubo, however, the government's attitude was suddenly changed, and its supervision upon public discussions became extremely rigid; hundreds of papers were suspended their publications, and journalists were severely punished. The trend of the age was too powerful, however, to be checked by any temporary measure, and the demand for the newspaper was rapidly increased by the people who were more thirsty for public discussions than before.

Due to the lack of correct information, both the internal and external situations had been misunderstood by the masses. An organ for public discussion had not yet been provided. Conflicts of interests and opinions had given rise to frequent insurrections and assassinations. Then came the national unification period. The state, which had been greatly disorganized by so many rapid changes, was now finally consolidated and the administrative power at last centralized in the new imperial government. Newspapers often incited trouble, but more often contributed to the unified control of the country by bringing the people as a whole to a better mutual understanding.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL JOURNALS AND THE MOVEMENT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL JOURNALS

It is a remarkable fact that as soon as the Shogunate régime had been abolished, there appeared, in less than one year, ten official gazettes and fifteen private newspapers. After a decade the number of newspapers reached nearly three hundred with a yearly circulation of 38,000,000 copies. Both the authorities and the people realized the importance of being well informed on official actions by means of official gazettes. The newspaper at once became a very important factor in political affairs of New Japan, and, although the quality of the papers at that time was poor and the circulation insignificant, they were already the most influential means of communication in organizing public opinion.

At the beginning of the Meiji Era the retainers of Tokugawa's vassals in Eastern Japan hated the clans in power. The radicals who had become fascinated with the novelty of the natural-rights doctrine; the conservatives against the sudden change; the persons discontented with the dominance of a few clans in politics; adventurers, and other excitable persons, all grouped together against the new government. They availed themselves of the mighty weapon of the printing press, which had heretofore been unknown in this country, and their attacks upon the new government and its officials became violent. About this time civil wars began in Northern Japan between the Imperial Army and Tokugawa's adherents, and people were anxious to know about its development. Having been stimulated by this unusual demand, private newspapers made rapid development. Among all newspapers of those days the *Naigai Shimbun*, the *Moshiogusa*, and the *Koko Shimbun* were the most prominent.

Although the number of newspapers had increased very rapidly during the first few years of New Japan, their contents were not brilliant,

and the general public did not pay much respect to journalists. In 1872, however, Marquis Inouye and Baron Shibusawa published an article on the national finances; and the next year Count Soyejima, Count Itagaki, Count Goto, and other prominent statesmen published their joint memorials, which they had addressed to the government asking for a prompt establishment of a national assembly. People then began to pay more attention to the newspapers. Ochi Fukuchi, on his return from Europe, resigned his official position and joined the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi* (*Tokyo Daily Press*). There he adopted the system of Western journalism, and by signed editorials discussed current problems. Other papers soon followed this method, and a large number of well-educated and ambitious youths gathered on the editorial staffs of newspapers, many of them distinguishing themselves as leaders of public opinion.

The *Koko Shimbun* was published by Ochi Fukuchi. During his stay in London he was inspired by the London papers, and immediately upon his return he tried to establish a newspaper. In his work *Kai-o Jidan* (*Reminiscence*) he says:

About May, 1868, newspapers suddenly appeared in Tokyo. . . . . As it was a time of internal disorder, there was no need to obtain official permission, and each person published his paper as he wished. I was very glad to see this; and as I thought it was a good opportunity for me to put my political opinions before the public, I secretly consulted Dembei Jono, Kosuke Hiro-oka, and Sensuke Hishida, and in the early part of that year published a newspaper by the name of *Koko Shimbun*. Since we did not have movable types as we do now, we had to engrave on wood blocks ourselves, and hand-print the paper from them. This newspaper was in size one-half of Hanshi (about $6\times9\frac{1}{2}$), and it contained from ten to twelve pages each issue. It was, therefore, nothing but a sort of up-to-date magazine. It had general news, contributed articles, and editorials on current topics. All the manuscripts were written by my hand, and even the block copies were often made by me. Usually it was issued every three or four days, and among the large number of papers of that time my *Koko Shimbun* was said to have had the largest circulation, it having attracted public attention. Although there is no copy of them in my library now, someone may still keep them. I advise people to read them if they want to know what my ideas were in those days. The principle on

which I wrote the articles was: Primarily I have no objection to imperialism whatsoever, nor am I against the Shogun's restoration of political power to the Emperor. But when I observe the real political situation, I see the reign not restored to the Imperial Hands but taken over by the Satsuma and the Choshu Clans. This is simply the creation of a second and new feudal government under the control of Sat-Cho Clans in place of the fallen Tokugawa Clan. Such is not only absolutely against my own expectation, but also against the spirit of the Restoration.

Such having been the principle I had sustained, I opposed the administration systematically. Furthermore, the paper published many articles contributed by the deserted soldiers of Tokugawa's adherents. They often glorified the victorious reports of rebel forces, and some of them wrote even false reports of the war as well as of the political situation.[1]

The fact that the *Koko Shimbun* had glorified the victories of the rebel troops and published the false reports which were favorable to them soon attracted the attention of the government, and the editor, Fukuchi, was arrested and imprisoned on May 18, 1868. Fortunately he had many friends among the officials of the government, and through their efforts he was released at the beginning of June. His newspaper establishment, however, was condemned, the blocks burned, and further publication forbidden. This was the first imprisonment of a journalist and the first prohibition of a newspaper publication under the new régime of Meiji. This was followed by the prosecution of many other sympathetic newspapers by the government.

The following are synopses of editorials which fell under the ban of censorship:

K. Kato of the *Fusai Shimbun* made a violent attack against the new national laws, and proclaimed that, if unavoidable, he would follow the example of the prominent American, Patrick Henry. He further said that he wished to start a rebellion as the thirteen states of North America did against England, and that he hoped gradually to establish a republican form of government in Japan. On January 20, 1876, he was convicted under the new press law, and was imprisoned for three years.

S. Seki of the *Osaka Nippo* advocated the natural-rights theory too enthusiastically, and was imprisoned for a year and a half.

[1] Genichiro Fukuchi, *Kai-o Jidan*, pp. 198–200.

T. Nakajima of the *Fusai Shimbun* wrote an article proclaiming: "Our government is tyranny and our authorities are brutal; therefore we must destroy this government and punish the officials with death." He was sentenced to be imprisoned for two months with a fine of twenty yen.

S. Umagoshi of the *Somo Zasshi* instigated the revolution and was imprisoned for three months, while S. Higo of the *Chokai Shimpo* wrote an article asserting "Liberty must be earned with blood," and was sent to prison for a year and a half.

S. Tanaka of the *Bummei Shinsha* was imprisoned for fifty days because he had instigated assassination in an editorial entitled "Assassination in Turkey."

R. Kamiyo of the *Tokyo Kinji-Shimpo* was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine of five yen, because he had published an article justifying political offenses.

S. Okui of the *Heian Shimbun* wrote that tyrannical government must be at once destroyed, and the might of liberty must be cultivated. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for five months.

S. Kimura of the *Tokyo Shinji-Shimbun* incited the assassination of government authorities in an article entitled "An Essay on Inevitability" (*Yamuo-Ezaru-no Ron*), and was punished by imprisonment for two months and a fine of 30 yen.

J. Ikki of the *Tai-ei Shimbun* published an article with the purpose of inciting a revolution, and also one in which he said, "It is no longer endurable for us to see that the savage Englishmen are trying to make our Japanese Empire her disgraceful dependency," etc. He was imprisoned for one year.

U. Matsudaira of the *Osaka Shimpo*, S. Matsui of the *Osaka Nippo*, and K. Akamatsu of the *Kyoto Nichi-nichi* were severely punished because they slandered the Crown Prince of Germany (ex-Kaiser Wilhelm), accusing him of misconduct during one of his hunting trips.

S. Nagata of the *Tokyo Akebono-Shimbun* was sentenced to prison for two years and fined 100 yen, because he wrote an article entitled "The Spirit of Self-Respect in a Nation" in which he said, "Monarchs, premiers, and all other dignitaries are nothing but tools created for the purpose of protecting the great mass of people. Emperor Jimmu (the first emperor of Japan) was in the beginning nothing but a son of one of the large clans in the Province of Hyuga," etc.

M. Sakumoto of the *Keihan Mainichi-Shimbun* was committed to prison for 30 days, because he wrote an article stating that the privy council's

gate-guards are a strong bulwark to check the intrusion of the petitioners for the establishment of a National Assembly.

Iwakura, Okubo, and other officials were, at this time, making a great effort to concentrate power in the central government, in order, if possible, to unify the divergent interests of political factions. Politicians out of office, especially those who had opposed Iwakura and Okubo in the Korean affair, considered this policy of the administration a sign of despotism, and determined to oppose it.

About this time Nobuo Komuro and Uro Furuzawa returned from Europe with the advice that Japan adopt the representative form of government, which they said was so successful in many Western states. This suggestion was accepted. In January, 1874, a memorial was addressed to the Privy Council requesting the establishment of a representative form of government. This memorial was signed by eight prominent statesmen—Soyejima, Goto, Itagaki, etc.—and was as follows:

We respectfully consider that the political power of the state at present is neither vested in the Imperial House nor in the people's hands, but simply in government authorities. We do not insist that the authorities disregard the Imperial House, but its prestige is gradually diminishing. We do not assert that our officials neglect the protection of the people; but the laws change too frequently, justice is influenced by private circumstances, and praise and punishment are based on sentiment. There are no means provided for the public to express their opinions and complaints about these unsatisfactory conditions.

If such a situation should continue a child could foretell that the maintenance of peaceful government is impossible. Should a change of system be delayed, we fear the state would be hopelessly ruined. Consequently, patriotism compels us to consider some measure to save the nation from impending disaster: we have now reached the conclusion that there is no better way to reach that end than to encourage public discussions. The best means for such a government is to establish a National Assembly. Then the power vested in the hands of officials will be properly supervised and limited, and the people, from the top to the bottom, will enjoy an equality of peace and happiness. We dare to say that it is a universally accepted principle that taxpayers are entitled to representatives in the government. . . . .

The *Nisshin Shinji-shi* published this memorial January 18, 1874. Other newspapers also advocated in their editorials the prompt establishment of a national assembly.

The government then quieted the voices of the discontented with the establishment of a Senate for legislation and a Supreme Court as the highest judicial body of the state. It also convoked a great meeting of all local governors and other influential officials for discussion of local and national politics. To this end the following imperial edict was issued on April 14, 1875:

> Immediately after my accession to the Throne, I gathered my officials before me, made an oath of five articles, and sought for measures to secure protection for all subjects by establishing a national policy. Fortunately, by the protection of Our Ancestral Spirits and by the efforts of all my officials, we have been enabled to enjoy the present peace and prosperity.
>
> Still, only a short time has elapsed since the day of the Restoration, and I believe there are many things to be improved and developed in our internal policies today. Therefore, extending the spirit of my Written Oath, I hereby establish the Senate, and expand the source of our legislation; providing a Supreme Court, strengthening the power of justice; and, by convening local officials, trying to understand the conditions of the people, and hoping to promote the public welfare. Thus gradually establishing a constitutional form of government, I wish to share its benefit with my subjects.
>
> You, my subjects, neither adhering blindly to things of the past nor hurrying imprudently to a radical change, support my régime with a clear understanding of the spirit of my order.

This was the second step toward the development of a constitutional form of government, the first having been the Charter Oath of Five Articles.

In the earlier days the majority of the people knew little of the world-situation: and public opinion was more easily controlled by "jingoes" and zealots than by intelligent and rational thinkers. An abuse of the printing press was therefore a dangerous thing. According to the imperial edict of April 14, the central government convoked a great meeting of prefectural authorities, and certain of the people's delegates from each prefecture as well as journalists attended the meeting. All

large newspapers sent delegates and the proceedings of each meeting were published. Soon the political discussions on newspapers grew so violent that the authorities became alarmed. In great haste the press law was revised and a new libel law was promulgated in July of that year.

These two laws were a great blow to the newspapers. All editorials were censored rigidly. Consequently many newspapers published merely news, while several others became reckless and began to attack the government more violently. Especially, Tetcho Suehiro, the editor of the *Cho-ya*, attacked the arbitrariness of the new press law, whereupon he was sentenced to prison for two months and to pay a fine of 20 yen. This was the first punishment inflicted under the revised press law. But, since the so-called imprisonment of the journalists at that time was simply a confinement at their own homes, the writing continued more spiritedly than ever. Soon a peculiar situation arose. There was hardly an editor left unpunished. The authorities became alarmed, and in 1876 changed the home confinement to penitentiary sentence. In many cases chief editors were first imprisoned, then the temporary chief editors, and finally when not one of the staff writers was left behind in the office, business was naturally suspended.

About 1875 the eighteenth-century natural-rights philosophy and English utilitarianism began to interest the young educated class. Radical opinions based on the half-digested Western philosophy of individualism appeared in the newspapers and attracted the attention of the government. Consequently, in June, 1876, the press law was revised and a new libel act promulgated which increased the prosecution of journalists. The radical attitude of the newspaper editorials grew even stronger. Examples are presented below:

TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT MUST BE OVERTURNED

(Article by Naoji Fukai)

When Heaven created the people, it made them all equal, and gifted them with an inalienable right to freedom. The end of human life is to enjoy this natural freedom to the utmost and to attain supreme happiness. But, when society is but poorly developed and civilization and morality are not yet

advanced, it is inevitable that many atrocities are committed by rascals and that the strong and vicious oppress the weak and tender members of society and keep from them their natural liberty.

Consequently, there must voluntarily come into being a presiding power to restrain the strong and to punish the violent. This is the reason why a government comes into existence in human society. Therefore the fundamental duty of a government is to protect all people, and let them attain their natural liberty and enjoy supreme happiness. There have been governments, however, which have consistently tried to increase their power by making severe laws, and restricting even the freedom of speech and activities of the people, and flooding the field of human happiness with calamities. This is indeed a violation of the fundamental principles upon which a government is built, and is a tyranny which scorns the most important duty of government. Neither men nor gods would ever sanction it!

However, if people unfortunately happen to live under such government, they must arouse all their innate power of resistance and restore their natural liberty. In the course of such restoration of freedom, it might become necessary to overthrow the existing tyranny and establish in its place a new free government. We find in the Declaration of Independence of America such words: "It is also the duty of the people to establish a free government by overthrowing the one which hinders the safety and happiness of the people." The Manifesto of the French Revolution also said: "A tyrannical government which deprives the people of their freedom must be overthrown, and to do so is the most important duty of the people." Consequently any people, who live submissively and obediently under a government which usurps their power and endangers their liberty and happiness and who do not dare to strive for their natural freedom, are indeed sinners before Heaven. There is no greater neglect of human duty than that.

Now our Japanese government has gradually given up its time-honored despotism; and by giving the people the rights of freedom and of independence, it has tried to secure them safety and happiness. But, in the future, should there be any despot, we could hardly say that we had fulfilled our duty as subjects of a state by simply obeying his commands.

Therefore, we, the subjects of Japan, must make a study beforehand of what constitutes such duties and obligations of the people. It is for this purpose that we write these articles and present them for public consideration. Whether we will be considered fools or not, we do not know.[1]

[1] Gaikotsu Miyatake, *Shikka Shi*, pp. 113–14.

Although the subject-matter of the foregoing article is apparently theoretical, its obvious intention was to instigate an anti-government sentiment in the people.

AN ARTICLE BY EITARO KOMATSUBARA

Spencer, an Englishman, once said: "There is no better way of changing a political condition than to first peacefully change the public mind through arguments and then realize the political and legal changes as its natural consequences. The overthrowing of a government is never a blessing. Revolution is caused by temporary violent excitement of the masses, but it is not the result of deliberation. Under a tyrannical government, which suppresses and maltreats its people by making bad laws and unnecessary restrictions, the public becomes irritated. When such oppression grows intolerable, the accumulated fury explodes and overturns the government by violence. Thus a revolution is originally aimed at the establishment of a good government according to the wishes of the people; but as it progresses amidst rages and furies, the ensuing new government is but a product of the confused mob-mind. Consequently a revolution can never be a blessing to a state. The healthiest method of reconstruction is to control the radical temperament, endure the unendurable, and to work steadily toward a gradual change. The English people are gifted with the virtue of patience and endurance; and it is because they have attained their liberty gradually without resorting to blood and iron that they have succeeded in their present glory as a foremost world-power."[1]

I do not doubt there is some validity in this argument of Spencer. A revolution is an unavoidable circumstance, and, of course, we cannot say it is a perfectly desirable measure. But, in case tyrants suppress and abuse people by usurping their power, and no arguments nor public opinion have any effect upon their atrocious attitude, what can be done with them? Shall the whole nation be sacrificed for the benefit of a few despotic authorities, or shall the latter be sacrificed for the sake of the former? Even a child would not hesitate to give a reply in this fashion:

"In such a case, the tyrants must be sacrificed as a natural punishment of Heaven upon them. Why should we neglect the welfare of the people for the sake of a few despots?"

[1] This is not the exact quotation of Spencer's original statement, but is my translation from the Japanese text.

At present, our Japanese government is a good government, and its officials are all wise and gifted men. At this epoch of the untroubled administration, we merely wish to discuss with the public the problem of how we should behave in case darker days should come upon us. May the authorities well appreciate our intention! [1]

Komatsubara, the author of this article, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to prison for two years, January 29, 1877. It is interesting to know that he later distinguished himself as a statesman and once became the State Minister for Education.

KI YAMAWAKI'S ARTICLE

Heaven has bestowed us with freedom. Consequently if there are people who would not dare struggle to extend their freedom when they are bound by artificial barriers, they must be called sinners before God. It is a people's duty to overthrow a tyrannical government by raising the standard of liberty, sounding the drums of freedom, and casting a new free government according to the will of the people.

There are some who blame America's opposition against the English government in obtaining real freedom, because they fought with the state of their fathers for that purpose. This is simply an idea of hopelessly servile people. To our mind, on the contrary, we admire them for discharging their duty to God. We must remember that true liberty grows only out of blood and death, not from empty table discussions. If America had depended on argumentations instead of armed resistance against the English, would they have attained the liberty which they are still enjoying on earth today? People must pay for liberty with hundreds of precious lives.

Our arguments here indicate the natural duty of the people to oppose a government in case it oppresses people tyrannically but by no means do we mean to overturn our own free government. Please do not misunderstand this point! But, suppose, hundreds of years from now our Japanese government should happen to be as tyrannical as England once was to America, then it would become our natural duty to overthrow it. Be brave, then, Brethren, and do not spoil our inalienable natural right to freedom! [2]

The author Yamawaki was punished by one year's imprisonment on January 29, 1877.

[1] Gaikotsu Miyatake, *Shikka Shi*, pp. 115–16. [2] *Ibid.*

ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PUBLIC IN ENTERING THE SERVICES OF THE *KOKO SHIMBUN*

(By Tetcho Suehiro)

I am so humble and straightforward that I can hardly get along in this world. But, as I fortunately live in the civilized community with pen and ink in my hand, whenever interesting events concerning our society reach me, I cannot help arguing each and every one of them with the desire to benefit the national civilization to some extent; and, if by doing so I should be criticized by the public, I would not complain.

When our government had promulgated the Press Law and Libel Act, I thought that they could not stand in harmony with the principle of freedom of discussion, which we had always advocated, and that such is not the way to cultivate a progressive spirit nor bring to the people a higher culture. Consequently, regardless of my personal welfare, I became an advocate of the doctrine of freedom of discussion; and, hoping to present something worth while for the consideration of our wise Ministers of the Cabinet, I printed every day in the newspaper articles concerning the new laws, and also published any contributed articles which discussed the problem. In spite of the rigid laws which might terrorize anyone, we gathered our courage together and published sharp attacks every day. Seeing this, some people jeered at us as insane; and after a few months, just as I had anticipated, I was prosecuted by the authority, and was condemned to both fine and imprisonment.

Among the journalists of Tokyo, there are many who have met with similar misfortunes on account of their writings; but I was the pioneer of them all and the punishment was severest with me. When I thought that my nature being so unconventionally stupid I could not live harmoniously among conventional politics and had brought upon me the violent wrath of our State Ministers, I had only to grieve and sigh myself in vain. . . . . When I was imprisoned in a small cell, it was early in July, and the temperature was so high that I felt as if it were burning there. But all sides were tightly closed keeping out any draft, the floor was damp, and the room was so dark that in the mid-day I heard many mosquitoes buzzing around me and a lamp had to be lighted early in the afternoon. . . . . As I considered the past and present, I thought of a large number of people who had been condemned by their Lords and Ministers and were suffering great distress. Some of them were kept imprisoned for life, and others were executed. Now I have escaped execution by the greatest grace of our government, and suffered only two months' imprisonment. But in this civilized world in which I might safely

have enjoyed the greatest happiness of a quiet life, I had misled my body of six feet through a little stick of pen. Looking up and down I deeply sighed and bitterly cried in the prison cell whenever I thought of my aged parents whom I left at home seven hundred miles away, and my tears wet my clothing. . . . . Subsequently, all my intimate friends wrote letters and advised me not to re-enter the newspaper office. . . . .

But, I know that when a humble but sincere person once determines his will, no threatenings can change his course, and that the advancement of civilization and welfare of a state are but the reflection of its people's courageous determination and the execution of their unconquerable will. If we are discouraged by a temporary set-back, we would never be able to turn the fortune of society and lead the nation toward a better life. Although I am only a humble and unworthy person, at the time when I gave up my hereditary pension of *samurai* and undertook journalism, I already had a lofty ideal and desire to make it my duty to advocate freedom of discussion. If this ambition is not fulfilled and I expire wandering in a desert, and my skeleton buried under the wild grasses. I would be perfectly contented with such a fate. Why should I change my once determined course because of one failure?[1]

FUMIHIKO YOKOSE'S ARTICLE

If wicked Ministers and vulgar officials take advantage of their power, and abuse the people by making tyrannical rules and collecting too heavy taxes; and if men of high ideals, anxious for national welfare and representing the will of the people, frankly discuss the merits and demerits of the government's policies and the official practices, and are restricted from discussion by means of severe punishments; then the very independence of the nation is at stake! If such government is not promptly overturned, there will be no other way than to wait for the decay of the state as a whole.

At this time of national crisis, why should the subjects of such a state remain in subjugation to the tyrannical government longer? What should they do then? My reply is "Just test the sharpness or dullness of the people's swords on the necks of those dishonest Ministers and vulgar officials!"

This suggestion is not for today's use, you remember, but is for your future reference!

Yokose was imprisoned for three months for this article, and was fined 50 yen on January 29, 1877.

[1] *Tetcho Bunshu*, pp. 1–6; *Koko Shimbun*, editorial, October 27, 1876.

PARTY ORGANS AND THE MOVEMENT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

During the first decade of the Meiji Era there was considerable development in public education and means of communication. Illiteracy had decreased, and the demand for printed matter was greatly increased. From 1872 to 1882 the number of ships quadrupled, railways were extended, and the postal system was nearly perfected. Printing was making rapid progress with movable lead types. The country at large was becoming conscious of its political life. Moreover, the political atmosphere of the country had completely changed since Saigo's civil war. Anti-governmental factions had turned their attention from methods of force to their new weapon of public discussion.

About this time the works of Bentham, Mill, Spencer, and Rousseau and histories of the French and American revolutions were being read by a few well-educated people. From 1877 on, political narratives based on revolutionary philosophy made their appearance in newspapers. The *Illustrated Liberty* (*Eire Jiyu*) and the *Light of Liberty* (*Jiyu-no Tomoshibi*) published serial stories of the fall of the Roman Empire, the French Revolution, and the independence of America, translated from Western novels. Young people were fascinated with these stories, and the circulation of newspapers increased considerably.

These pseudo-revolutionists, of course, did not understand the real significance of Western philosophy, but were simply fascinated with its novelty. An agitation for the establishment of a national assembly was started. Among the prominent journalists of that time, Fukuchi and Suematsu thought Japan not yet ready for such a form of government. Oi and Suehiro, on the contrary, emphatically advocated immediate establishment of a national assembly. Other journalists supported them.[1]

FUKUZAWA'S EDITORIAL IN THE *HOCHI SHIMBUN* AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

There may have been a few instances in which my discussion had affected political affairs to a certain extent. For instance, there is an interesting

[1] Yukichi Fukuzawa, *Fuku-o-Jiden*, pp. 520-23. Fukuzawa was one of the foremost educators in New Japan and the founder of Keio University and the *Jiji Shimpo*. Thousands of young men under his tutelage distinguished themselves later as prominent statesmen, journalists, and business men.

incident which very few people have known so far. In 1878, after the Kagoshima rebellion, when people became rather tired of the profound peace and monotonous tranquillity, a novel idea came to my mind incidentally; i.e. if I discuss the problem of a National Assembly, some people may respond to it, and it will be very interesting.

So I wrote that article, and as there was no *Jiji Shimpo* at that time, I showed a copy to Mokichi Fujita and Katsundo Minoura, the editors of the *Hochi Shimbun*, and told them, "If you care to publish this article on your editorial page, you may do so, for I believe people will certainly be interested. But, in order to conceal the identity of Fukuzawa's authorship, you shall change the peculiarities of my literary style before you publish it. Will it not be interesting to watch how the public will react on this article?"

Since both of them were young and progressive men, they took my copy with great delight and immediately published it in the editorial section of the *Hochi Shimbun*. At that time, as the desire for a National Assembly was still small, it was absolutely impossible to predict whether it would really appeal to popular feeling or receive no response. For about a week it appeared every day as a serial article on the editorial page; and with the revision of Fujita and Minoura, it was written in such a way as to arouse the fellow-journalists of Tokyo.

Then, after a few months, the Tokyo papers, and even the country papers, began to discuss this subject with enthusiasm; until finally the whole nation became interested. Delegates after delegates came to Tokyo from all parts of the country to file petitions to the government requesting the establishment of a National Assembly. It was very interesting to watch it. But when I considered that casual political discussion instigated through mere curiosity had unexpectedly produced a tumult so great that it had become almost uncontrollable, it seemed to me as if I had implicated myself as inevitably as though I had set fire to the dried grass of an autumn field in which I was standing, and I began to feel a terror. . . . .

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS AN URGENT NECESSITY

(By Tetcho Suehiro)

I have been so worried recently that I have lost my appetite and have not been able to rest well at night. Why is it? It is because I observe that many people in the city are boisterously rebelling against the administration of our authorities and reviling their conduct. We, of course, believe that these

boisterous people are the ignorant, petty citizens and the discontented military class, and that what they talk about does not at all affect the reputation of our government.

But, when such criticisms are transmitted from person to person and spread widely until millions of people are discussing it, then, even if those arguments be entirely wrong and unfounded, I fear that, after all, the national opinion will be affected. Do the authorities of our government understand that there are a great number of these ignorant people in our country now? We also fear that, occupied with their official functions, our high dignitaries may not have opportunity to hear what the people on the streets are talking about. Intelligent officials should be aware of all the activities of society. How can they overlook this talk as mere gossip of ignorant people? We also wish to modestly suggest that our high officials have few opportunities to come in contact as we do with these people who are so boisteriously discussing the matter.

Moreover when we hear the denunciations of these ignorant people, we are bound to think that there may be some intelligent persons who are sincerely and deliberately discussing the political situation of our government and the conduct of our authorities. If they begin to discuss these matters and take violent action, although there will probably be no more civil war, we can hardly say that our country is at peace. Even though there is no impending danger of rebellion, is it not the duty of our authorities to govern the people in such a way as to secure happiness and real peace for them? It is therefore imperative that our government encourage public discussion, and by bowing to public opinion stop the latent disapproval of the people at once. Therefore, what we need most urgently today is merely the establishment of a National Assembly, which the public have wanted for a long time. If not in a National Assembly, where can we seek for fair public discussions in order to comply with the demand of public opinion? . . . .[1]

Soon the agitation spread all over the country, and great mass meetings were held everywhere. Petitions signed by large numbers of people flooded the office of the Senate. A petition to the Emperor, signed by more than 87,000 people representing two urban prefectures and twenty-two prefectures, was presented to the Privy Council by K. Kataoka and H. Kono, delegates of the Patriotic League (*Aikoku Sha*), in March, 1880. This petition, however, was not accepted by the Council. There-

[1] Editorial, *Koko Shimbun*, October 28, 1876; *Tetcho Bunshu*, pp. 7–10.

upon it was presented to the Senate, and was again turned away. K. Matsumoto and G. Kamijo, representing 21,500 people of Matsumoto in the Nagano Prefecture, asked the ministers and state councilors for an interview. This was refused.

On October 9, 1880, the government issued a proclamation to the effect that, although no memorials nor petitions which were presented to the Throne would be accepted, the people might address memorials to the government. Thousands of memorials came to the Senate, but obtained no response.

Seeing the growing danger of political agitations, in April, 1880, the government promulgated the Public Meeting Regulation, which provided that all political meetings should obtain a police permit three days before the meeting. It also required the government's permission for organizing political associations, and prohibited soldiers, policemen, and students from being in the audience when political speeches were made. The law also forbade communication between political organizations.

Marquis Okuma, a state councilor, not being a man of Sat-Cho clans, had sympathized with the popular demands, and advocated the establishment of a national assembly. When the Minister-of-the-Left, Prince Taruhito, secretly interviewed him as to the best method of pacifying the people, Okuma replied that nothing but the establishment of a representative form of government would satisfy them. He then presented a scheme for a constitutional form of government drafted by him. When this became known, the members of the Cabinet were furious at Okuma, but they were at last forced to announce that a national assembly should be established in the near future. Thus, October 11, 1881, on the return of the Emperor from his visit to Northern Japan, the government issued an imperial edict proclaiming that a national assembly would be established in 1890. On the night of that same day, however, Okuma was forced to resign his state councilorship at the request of the Cabinet. His sympathizers became indignant, and in the succeeding two days a large number of capable young officials resigned their posts. There was the greatest sweeping change of high officials since the great conflict of opinions on the Korean incident of 1873.

The rise of political parties in Japan, contrary to the party history of many other countries, preceded both the promulgation of a constitution and the establishment of the National Assembly. Since communication and co-operation between different political organizations were forbidden by the law of April, 1880, numerous political associations hitherto existing were dissolved and consolidated into one large organization called the Patriotic Association (*Aikoku-Kai*), which soon changed its name to *Dai-Nippon Kokkai Kisei Yushi-kai* (The League for Insuring the Establishment of a National Assembly of Great Japan). From this association the Liberal party (*Jiyu-to*), the first political party in Japan, was organized by Count Itagaki in November, 1880. On March 16, 1882, the followers of Marquis Okuma organized the Constitutional Progressive party (*Rikken Kaishin-to*) with Okuma as its president. Both the Liberals and the Progressives were anti-government parties. They used three influential organs—the *Keihin Mainichi*, the *Choya*, and the *Hochi*. To oppose these two parties, the Constitutional Imperialist party (*Rikken Teikoku-to*) was organized on March 18, 1882, by sympathizers of the administration. The *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*, the *Meiji Nippo*, and the *Tokyo Shimpo*, published by Gen-ichiro Fukuchi, Sakura Maruyama, and Torajiro Mizuno, were its semi-government organs. Political parties and their organs thus appeared for the first time in the political history of Japan.

The Liberal party consisted of a large number of extreme radicals and political malcontents, many of whom were blind advocates of the natural-rights philosophy and insisted on the sovereignty of the people. Their plan for a national assembly was based on the unicameral system, and in general they inclined to adopt the political system of France. On the contrary, the Progressives took their model from England and advocated a gradual and systematic progress. They favored the bicameral system of a national assembly. Different from these two was the Imperialist party whose principles were more general, although more or less like the German benevolent despotism. It announced its intention to support the government, but its influence was too weak and it was soon dissolved, leaving only its organ to carry on its ideas.

Some of the extreme radicals of the Jiyu-to detested the existing government, and attempted to overthrow it. The leaders of the plots were punished on the ground of mustering bandits and plotting insurrection. On the return of its leader, Itagaki, from his observation trip to the Western countries, in June, 1884, the Jiyu-to continued on a milder basis with a smaller number of more orderly members.

The present system of cabinet government was first established by the Imperial Edict of December, 1885, in place of the old *Dajokan*, which was the central office of the government until that time. Hirobumi Ito became the first premier, and the departments worked together smoothly until the problem of foreign-treaty revision arose. In the government draft of the treaty revision there was a term which permitted a certain number of foreign judges in the Imperial Courts of Justice in order to abolish the extra-territoriality of the foreign residents in Japan. Strong opposition first arose among the members of the Cabinet and then among other high officials and political parties. Those who opposed it considered it very humiliating. The newspapers of the country almost unanimously attacked it in the most violent terms, and mass meetings were held everywhere denouncing the policy of the government. Kaoru Inouye, the Foreign Minister, was at last obliged to resign, and the treaty revision was suspended.

This blunder of the Ito Cabinet gave an opportunity for the rise of anti-government parties. In 1886 Zojiro Goto called a conference of the leading statesmen of all political parties, and explained the necessity of organizing a strong party. He said that by "giving up little differences" and basing their common interests on the "great similarities" of their ultimate ends, lost national dignities would be recovered and the political situation improved. All those who attended the meeting were deeply moved by his eloquence, and a unanimous resolution was passed to organize a new party. It was called the "Daido Danketsu." Goto was elected its president, and the prominent members of the old Liberals, Progressives, as well as the Conservatives, and a large number of other influential statesmen who were discontented with the government, joined it. Political agitations by party men and newspapers then grew more

violent; and mass meetings, presentations of memorials, and various other demonstrations against the government took place every day.

As a suppressive measure against these political agitations the Minister of the Interior promulgated the Peace Preservation Regulation, December 25, 1887, which strictly restricted freedom of speech and publication. Five hundred and seventy leading political agitators were banished from the capital in three days; and all those who protested or complained against this measure were immediately thrown into prison without trial. This terrorism could not solve the situation. It simply intensified the animosities and oppositions of the public. The government was greatly embarrassed, and on February 1, 1888, as a reconciliatory measure, Premier Ito offered Marquis Okuma, who had been removed from actual power since 1881, the portfolio of Foreign Minister. This was a most difficult rôle at that time because the treaty revision must be successfully managed, but he accepted with a firm determination.

In 1883 a special commission headed by Prince Ito was dispatched to investigate the constitutional systems of the leading Western states. The brilliancy of the German Empire at that time overshadowed all the rest of the states in his mind. While the Liberals were imitating the French and American ideas and the Progressives were admiring the English system at home, Ito decided to outdo both of them by adopting the Prussian bureaucracy. He was so deeply fascinated with things German that after his return he styled himself the Japanese Bismarck, and imitated every manner of Prince Bismarck, even to the style of his smoking cigars, it is said.

Soon after Ito's return the new Imperial Constitution was drafted by a special bureau established for that purpose. There everything was carried on in a secluded chamber by the special committee, with the occasional participation of the members of the imperial household and other high dignitaries. On February 11, 1889, the Imperial Constitution was promulgated with great ceremony, and the nation went wild with joy. But, upon careful study, it was seen that too strong power was given the administrative department, and the security of the people's rights was far from satisfactory. The ultimate power to protect the

people's rights was neither in the legislature nor in the judiciary, but was concentrated in the executive. As for an amendment to the Constitution, neither people nor Diet had the right to initiate it. It could be done only by the Imperial order submitted to the Diet, and furthermore no discussion could be started unless two-thirds of the whole members of the Diet were present. Consequently, in a strict sense, there was no "safety-valve" against political outburst in the Japanese Constitution.

The strong attack of the public on the government policy as to the treaty revision was temporarily stopped by the new entries of Okuma and Goto, the two most popular statesmen, into the Cabinet. Thereupon Okuma, the new foreign minister, again opened negotiations with foreign states. The purpose of the treaty revision was to improve the hitherto unfavorable and humiliating terms of the earlier treaties; and it was one of the most important national problems to be solved at that time. Okuma took a firm stand in foreign policy, and the revision progressed from one state to another with fair success. This time the progress of the negotiations was known only to the members of the Cabinet, but on April 19, 1890, the contents of the new Anglo-Japanese treaty was cabled to Japan from the *London Times*. In this draft there was again a clause allowing a certain number of foreigners among the judges in the cases involving foreigners. This was the very point on which the government had had the bitterest opposition from the public. Therefore spirited arguments were started among the officials as well as the people; and the newspapers began to fight it. The *Hochi*, *Choya*, *Mainichi*, and several other papers, which were sympathetic with the Kaishin-to, stood for the government policy, while *Tokyo Koron*, *Toun Shimbun*, and *Seiron*, the organs of Daido Danketsu, and *Nippon*, the organ of the Conservative party, and most other papers in the country violently attacked the government. The publication of the anti-government papers was frequently suspended, but this only inspired more agitations. Great mass meetings were held by the advocates of both sides. One hundred and twenty memorials supporting the new treaty and one hundred and eighty-five against it were received by the Senate. Even in the official circle there were many backslidings, and Minister of

Communication Goto, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Inuoye, President of the Privy Council Ito, and many others resigned their posts in protest against the new treaties. The professors of the Imperial University stated their adverse opinion with joint signatures, and presented it to the Minister of the Interior. On October 18, 1890, on his way to the Foreign Office, Marquis Okuma was attacked by an assassin. A bomb was thrown at his carriage, and his left leg was so severely injured that it had to be amputated. On the twenty-fourth of that month the whole Cabinet resigned, and the treaty revision was indefinitely suspended.

The French revolutionary philosophy advocated by the Liberals, Anglo-American individualism represented by the Progressives, and the conservative nationalism of the German type maintained by the Imperialists were the three dominant philosophies in the political discussions of those days. All the political factions freely exchanged their ideas and publicly battled for their beliefs. Whatever thoughts and interests might have been involved in these conflicts, their result was a gradual development of a more democratic form of political institutions. In this period the newspaper made a fair development. In 1887 there were 470 newspapers with 95,932,000 yearly circulation, an increase of more than twice in the decade succeeding Saigo's civil war of 1877, at which time the number of newspapers was 225 and their total yearly circulation 37,683,000. This shows at once an increase of the population participating in molding the public opinion of Japan. Now the political function of the printing press was not simply unifying and inciting the country as it had been in the earlier period. The press itself began to take part in governmental functions; that is to say, it became an extra-legal political institution. By offering information and criticism of national affairs, the newspapers prepared the way for the establishment of a constitutional form of government. All the political demonstrations and agitations so enthusiastically carried on at this period were but a reflection of the fact that the development of the means of communication had made it possible for the public to participate in the political struggle.

PARTY ORGANS AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The decade succeeding the establishment of the National Assembly was a most prosperous period for party organs. There were a few independent papers conducted on a commercial basis like the *Tokyo Jiji*, the *Osaka Asahi*, and the *Osaka Mainichi*. The principal financial resources of most newspapers, however, were subsidies of parties, contributions of political sympathizers, of which there were many.

NARRATIVE BY SABURO SHIMADA[1]

. . . . Under the revised Press Law, a large number of arrests were made every day. Imprisonment of prominent writers and suppression of publication of newspapers for a period from one to five weeks were frequent occurrences. The business management of newspapers of those days was very poor, the editorials were crude, and the size of paper much smaller than the present-day newspapers. But the journalists were ambitious and each one considered himself a "Minister without Portfolio." The business management was very different from the present system; and the staff members were not paid according to their abilities but rather on the basis of the amount necessary for their actual subsistence. For instance, an unmarried person did not request more than the exact amount for his personal expenses however high his ability might be; while those who had families were paid in proportion to the number of persons to be taken care of. In other words, the newspaper office was a sort of political club of which the journalists were the members; and while some of the members were going around making political speeches, those who remained in the office wrote the articles. The expenses were made up by political sympathizers, and many excellent articles were contributed free of charge. When the staff members were imprisoned or fined, there always appeared some sympathizers who paid the bonds and fines. . . . .

Consequently, the government considered journalism a strong enemy with most dangerous arms for the political battle; and it seemed as though the authorities even manifested a certain hatred toward the journalists. On the other hand, however, the sympathy of the public towards newspapers grew stronger every day. For some time, the newspapers attacked or advocated certain persons, groups, and movements according to their political significance; and the editorials were the authority of the public opinion, and directed

[1] Saburo Shimada is an ex-speaker of the House of Representatives and a leader of the Kenseikai party.

the change of social and political situations. Therefore, all learned and ambitious youths of those days were anxious to become journalists, regardless of the small salaries. Their ambition was to be elected when the National Assembly opened later, and until that time to discuss their ideas and opinions freely in the newspapers. . . . . Therefore, a large number of prominent statesmen and educators were produced from among the journalists of those days. . . . .

Journalism was a citadel for political discussion, and there was no business significance in it. Editorials formed the main part of the papers, and news was lightly treated. But, as a political organ, the newspaper was the thing most coveted by a large number of ambitious youths; and its discussions were powerful enough to move the current national opinion to such an extent that the activities of the political parties, their rise and fall, and even the revision of foreign treaties were controlled to a great extent by newspapers. . . . .[1]

Editorial writers were highly respected. Ambitious young men tried to get elected to the National Assembly by writing signed articles in newspapers. The following narratives by Yukio Ozaki and Ki Inukai give a vivid account of the journalist's life in those days:

NARRATIVE BY YUKIO OZAKI[2]

Since about 1876, when I was fifteen years old, I have frequently contributed articles to the *Akebono Shimbun* under the pen-name "Shun-nan." . . . . About that time Great Saigo, whose pro-war advice was rejected in the Korean affair, retired to his home prefecture, and a dangerous atmosphere pervaded the southern part of Kiushu Island, constantly threatening the government. My editorial articles advocating a punishment to be inflicted upon Satsuma (Saigo's home prefecture) seemed to have attracted public attention.

I have a few anecdotes of the period while I was editor of the *Niigata Shimbun*. When our boat arrived at the City of Niigata,[3] it was dark, and several persons with lanterns in their hands were eagerly looking for somebody. One of them asked me very arrogantly, "What has happened to Professor

[1] Saburo Shimada, the *Taikan*, October, 1918, pp. 200–202.

[2] Yukio Ozaki was a former student of Fukuzawa, was several times State Minister, and is a popular political leader.

[3] Yukio Ozaki had accepted the editorship of the *Niigata Shimbun*, the largest paper in the Prefecture of Niigata.

Ozaki?" When I replied that I was Ozaki, they looked at me curiously and welcomed me reluctantly. Later I was told that they had taken me for a student of Professor Ozaki, and that when I announced "I am Ozaki," they were extremely surprised, and were disappointed that they had engaged such a lad for their editor, and wondered how I, a mere boy, could manage the editorial staff. Soon, however, having found that my articles were very popular, and that their circulation began to increase, their minds were eased.[1]

Once at a public banquet, in which the Prefectural Governor and other local dignitaries were present, I was shown the lowest seat. I became very indignant. and rebuked the Governor for his carelessness. Before I had left Tokyo, I had been instructed by Professor Fukuzawa as to the mission of a journalist, and I was very confident and looked upon myself as "a Minister without Portfolio." I strongly believed that it was the Governor's function to be the executive of the people, but the guidance of them by the expression of opinions and public discussions is the journalist's noble mission. Furthermore, I had heard that in America the director of one of the large New York newspapers (Horace Greeley) had become a candidate for President of the United States, and I therefore had no fear nor awe for such petty officials as local governors. Nevertheless, my seat was set lower than those of the subordinate officials, not to mention the Governor himself. I, a hot-blooded youth, could not bear to accept such "respect to the government and the contempt for the people" sort of treatment; and for the sake of the dignity of journalists in general upbraided the Governor harshly. His subordinate officials grew very indignant and started toward me in anger, but the Governor himself kept admirably calm and said to them, "He is a very interesting young man. Show him a higher seat!" I was invited to a seat next to the Governor. I do not well remember that Governor's name now, but perhaps he was called Nagayama and was a good-natured old gentleman from the Satsuma Prefecture.

As to the problem of seating arrangement, I have another anecdote. In the first session of the Prefectural Assembly of Niigata, I (as a reporter) determined to guide the Assembly myself, and setting my chair by the side of the Speaker's seat, I gave him imperative instructions. Since in my reports of Assembly news of those days were such comments as "This argument is indeed worthless," or "How surprisingly ridiculous this argument is!" and the like, those copies are said to be still preserved there as rare things. My manner of instructing the Speaker was also an extraordinary high-handed one.

[1] Ozaki was then only twenty years old.

I would say to him, "Now stop the proceedings!" "Now dismiss the Assembly!" etc. One day, the Speaker did not dismiss the Assembly as I had instructed him. I pronounced its dismissal to the Assembly myself, gave up my pen and immediately left the Assembly Hall.[1]

NARRATIVE BY KI INUKAI[2]

It was in 1875 that I became a contributor of newspaper articles. I was then a student in the Kei-o Gijiku, and supported myself by writing the editorials on the *Hochi Shimbun*, the "Great Newspaper" of that time.

The standard of culture of the journalists of those days cannot be compared with that of the present-day journalists. . . . . In 1879 I published for the first time a magazine *Keizai Shimpo* (*Economic Journal*) in which I persistently advocated protected trade. At the same time Ukichi Taguchi (the greatest economist in Japan at that time) was advocating free trade in his *Keizai Zasshi* (*Economic Magazine*), and we had great arguments with each other. Once the problem of monometallism and bimetallism became the point of our dispute. For reference, Taguchi had one copy of *Money* of the "International Series" only, and using it as the whole source of his argument, he wrote very convincingly on monometallism. In despair I called on Giichi Wakayama, then the chief secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and obtained several source books from him. He had just returned from America with his young American bride, and being a very studious person he had many new books and magazines in his possession. Subsequently my arguments became much stronger, and Taguchi at last surrendered. He concluded his final article with the words, "Since the writer of the *Economic Journal* has the backing of the Mitsui Corporation (one of the largest corporations in Japan) and has obtained thousands of volumes of foreign books, his references are certainly varied." With this as an example of editorial articles of the "great learned men" you can imagine how crude and childish the rest of the editorials as well as the news articles seemed.

The editorial writers of those days were just like the present-day scholars who simply confine their studies to theory. They never closely investigated the facts themselves, but merely wrote the articles with the rough materials brought in by reporters. Fumio Yamo once continued his serial article on a psychological problem for thirty days in the editorial section of the *Hochi*, and on

[1] Yukio Ozaki, the *Taikan*, October, 1918, pp. 210–12.

[2] Ki Inukai was a former student of Fukuzawa, as well as Ozaki, and is an ex-Minister, a member of the Diplomatic Council, and the leader of the Kokuminto party.

another occasion his argument for the abolition of the rice stock-exchange continued again for over a month. It was neither a newspaper editorial nor a magazine article in character, moreover the subject-matter was very inferior.

Most of the earlier-day journalists were the *ronin* (masterless *samurai*) who were remnants of the officials of the old feudal régime crushed by the Satsuma and Choshu clans, and deprived of both their political power and their pensions. Consequently they were almost always opposed to new government. They obtained more or less satisfaction by expressing their discontent through small newspapers.

Having been the most learned people of the age, the high-class editorial writers were greatly respected by the public. The editors themselves believed that if they only succeeded in defeating the Satsuma and Choshu clans they would immediately become high officials, and therefore they surveyed the rest of the world with arrogance. For instance, when Ukichi Taguchi wrote some newspaper articles advocating the building of a port at Tokyo Bay, the business men of Yokohama became panic-stricken, fearing that their trade would be snatched away by the Tokyo people. Thereupon they sent for me, and after a very hospitable entertainment, they took me around the sea coast and asked my opinion as to the best place for the Pier. Even I, a young ex-student, was so respected by the public simply because of being an editorial writer.

Again, when Prince Iwakura, for the purpose of protecting the nobles' estates, had planned the construction of railways through Northeastern Japan, my advice was asked. I told him: "It is a splendid idea to protect the nobles' estates. But, since there are no freights to be shipped in that district at present, such a railroad cannot be successfully maintained even if it is constructed. Therefore I advise you to give up this plan."

There came a little different test, however, of my "great learning." One day, Eiji Asabuki, then the president of the Foreign Trading Corporation, said to me, "Mr. Okuma (Marquis) said the other day that he wished to see you sometime; and I advise you to call on him without fail." Thereupon I went to the office of the State Councilors, expecting to impress him with my customary "great learning." Unexpectedly, however, I found him very well informed on various subjects; and instead of instructing him I learned a great deal while I was there. On that occasion, the "highly learned man of the age" felt extremely small and retired completely dispirited.

The journalists were respected in this fashion, and all State Ministers and Councilors gladly made friendships with them whenever they were called upon.

Consequently first-class journalists looked upon themselves as most respectable persons equal to the State Ministers, and therefore worthy of much respect.

The circulation of newspapers of those days was very small. The *Choya* had a circulation of 12,000, the *Yomiuri* 10,000, and the *Hochi* 5,000. Nevertheless the newspaper business seemed to be prosperous. When I became an editorial writer of the *Hochi* immediately after my graduation from college, I was paid 100 yen a month, which sounds small now but was equal to the salary of the Assistant Secretary of the State Department. I therefore rented a large residence with a yard of more than 2,000 *tsubo* (*tsubo* is about seven feet square) provided with beautiful artificial hills and springs; and hiring a *rikisha-man* and many servants, I lived luxuriously.

The *Hochi* had only a circulation of 5,000 and the returns from advertisements were very small. Consequently I do not see how it could have made such a success. (See Shimada's narrative.) At any rate by translating foreign books and magazines and writing imperfectly digested economic articles, I, a young student, obtained 100 yen a month which was a large sum in those days. In the *Hochi* there were five or six other men who received also 100 yen. . . . . In translating a foreign language, five yen was paid for one page of copy paper with ten lines and twenty words in each line. Cost of living was very low, and for this sum of five yen one *koku* (five bushels) of rice could have been purchased. Therefore if we wrote two pages of such translations a day, we could live a luxurious life. Besides the salary of the *Hochi*, I have received about 200 yen from magazines for my contributions. Two hundred yen of that time had the purchasing power of more than 1,000 yen of today. Compared with those early-day journalists, the present-day journalists are too poorly paid.

I do not wish to emphasize the virtue of the journalists of the earlier days on purpose, but it is true that they were more dignified persons than the present-day journalists. Although, it depended somewhat on their natural gifts, this quality was due, to some extent, to the fact that they chose this profession with the principal purpose of opposing the political influence of the Sat-Cho Clans, and therefore had a definite aim. Moreover, as they were the "highly learned men" of the age, the public respected them, and they had self-respect also. They looked upon the government officials below the state councilors as their equals, and believed that they would be State Ministers themselves if only the opportunity should arrive. This was not merely due to their self-conceit, but a result of the favorable social situation of that time.

Furthermore, due to the very liberal salaries they received they never worried about their daily life as the present-day journalists do. Consequently

they did not need to flatter authorities, riches, or any one else, and did not pay much regard even to the command of their employers, because capable men were very few. At present, on the contrary, there is little security for the journalist's daily subsistence. The result is that very few capable men enter the journalistic profession, and those who do are often tempted to degenerate.

Such difference of character and qualities, however, applies only to editorial writers and other high-class journalists, and as to the common reporters and petty writers of general news there has been no difference at any time.[1]

On July 1, 1890, the first general election was held, and on November 25 the first session of the Imperial Diet was convoked. Now the time had arrived for politicians to express themselves freely under the protection of the law. The majority of the representatitves had decided to oppose the government. They discovered that the budget was the government's most vulnerable spot, and it became customary for the anti-governmental parties to fight the budget in every session, and for the government to dissolve the House.

The second session was convoked November 29, 1891. This time both the Liberals and the Progressives, two anti-government parties, forming a majority in the House, were united to oppose the government. Marquis Okuma, the Progressive leader, was forced to resign his position of Privy Councilor because of his friendship with Count Itagaki, the Liberal leader. Okuma at once became more popular, and the martial spirit of the anti-government parties was inspired. When Kabayama, the Minister of the Navy, in advocating the naval budget, arrogantly said, "The peace and order which the nation is now enjoying are nothing but the gifts of the Sat-Cho Clan government by its meritorious deeds," the whole Assembly Hall went into an uproar, and the naval budget was voted down immediately. Other important budgets were rejected one after another; and on December 25 the Diet was dissolved.

In the general election of February 15, 1892, the government issued a secret order to all local authorities to make the election returns increase the government supporters in the House. Violent conflicts took place in many localities; twenty-five deaths and three hundred and eighty-eight

[1] Ki Inukai, the *Daigaku Hyoron*, August, 1917, pp. 72–83.

casualties were counted. Martial law was proclaimed, and the government's interference grew more intense. Meanwhile, however, the anti-government agitation both in public speeches and newspaper publications grew violent. The election returns showed an overwhelming majority of the anti-governmental parties, which were then called the "People's party" by the public. Mr. Shimada describes the situation of that time as follows:

When the National Assembly was opened in 1890, many prominent journalists were elected to the House of Representatives. Then they expressed their opinions both in the House and in newspapers; and thus the House and the newspapers became closely connected, and consequently the political opinions of the House always harmonized with newspaper editorials. This peculiar situation was most clearly shown in the government's famous interference in the general election of 1892. On that occasion both the newspapers and the House bitterly attacked the government's outrages. When newspapers were suppressed the members of the House took advantage of freedom of speech in the Assembly Hall and their attacks grew more violent in proportion to the government's suppression of the publicities. Many newspapers were entirely forbidden publication and their printing presses forfeited. All anti-government papers met with as sad a fate as if they had been dynamited. But the more persecution by the government, the more violent grew the attacks; and the extraordinary efforts of newspapers were at last well compensated. Although the government openly interfered with the election and outrages were so extreme that troops were dispatched at many places to suppress the disturbances and riots, the result of the vote was an overwhelming victory for the anti-government parties and a strong blow to the clan government. This success was, of course, due mostly to speeches and other activities of the members; but the unanimous attacks of the newspapers against the government undoubtedly accomplished as much toward that great election success.[1]

In the fourth session (November 29, 1892—March 1, 1893) the budget of the Ito Cabinet was again miserably cut down, and both the government and the Diet took an uncompromising attitude toward each other. The Diet was suspended for fifteen days, and was threatened with dissolution. At this time of enormous national growth, the government budgets were naturally large; but the Diet systematically voted them

[1] Saburo Shimada, the *Taikan*, October, 1918, pp. 202–3.

down on the ground that the people were already too heavily taxed, and that government officials received absurdly high salaries. The members of the House were not to be intimidated by the government, and at once passed a resolution to present a memorial to the Throne denouncing the government. On February 8 the Speaker of the House, Hoshi, presented it to the Emperor. Instead of dissolving the House or resigning himself, however, Premier Ito resorted to an artful measure of appealing to the Crown's grace. On the tenth of that month the Emperor summoned all state ministers, members of the Privy Council, and the speakers of both Houses to his palace, and issued an imperial edict, part of which is as follows:

At present, when every state of the world is making rapid daily progress, you should not waste precious time by internal quarrels, forgetting the great end of the state, and thus missing opportunities for our national development, for such is not the proper way to serve the august spirits of my Imperial Ancestors nor is it the method to reap a bountiful harvest from the recently made Imperial Constitution. I hope to see the state affairs well conducted by my deeply trusted authorities; and I do not doubt that the good men who were elected to the House of Representatives by my subjects will share the anxiety day and night with me.

The expenditures itemized under article 67 of the Imperial Constitution were already guaranteed by the text of that Law, and they cannot be a source of dispute at this time. I hereby particularly order my Cabinet Ministers to most carefully deliberate and make any adjustment of the administrative affairs so that there shall be no miscalculation in it, and then to ask for my sanction.

As for matters relating to national defense, they should not be neglected for one day, lest we meet a disaster which we would regret for years to come. Therefore, I reduce my Imperial Household expenses and grant an annual amount of 300,000 yen for the coming six years; and I order my civil and military officers, except those who are in certain circumstances, to contribute one-tenth of their salaries for the same period in order to supplement the expenditures which are required for building war-ships.

I trust my Cabinet and Diet, and hope that each of you, as an organ of a constitutional state, will cautiously refrain from interfering with the jurisdiction of the other; and that by working together harmoniously you will assist my great works yet to be accomplished for the development of our state.

Both Houses at once responded to the request of the Throne, begging Its graceful pardon as to their past misconduct and promising that the future work should be carried on in compliance with His Majesty's advice. The House of Representatives requested, however, that the government would thereafter compromise with the House instead of blindly adhering to its original requests. They also asked that the system of the Administrative Department be improved. These demands were granted, and consequently the budgets were passed in the Diet. The government had conceded very little in fact, but the imperial advice had had a wonderful effect, and all the political parties, except the Kenseito (Progressives), who fought to the last, voted for the budget.

For many years the public had wanted a revision of the Press Law, especially the abrogation of the articles requiring public deposits and giving the Minister of the Interior power to suspend publication at his discretion. A bill to accomplish this had been introduced in the Diet many times, but it was always voted down. In the fourth session the original bill, which requested the entire abolition of these two rules, was so modified by the committee meeting that the deposit system remained unchanged and the period of suspension of newspaper publication was limited to one week for the daily papers and six issues for the others. When this committee resolution became known, the people furiously attacked the committee. The representatives of various organized movements called on every member of the Diet to persuade them to pass the original bill without modification. The opinion of the Lower House was greatly affected by these public agitations, and in a general meeting the committee resolution was rejected and the original bill passed. When it was transferred to the Upper House, however, it was again modified. The Upper House never was sympathetic with the popular appeals, and always opposed revision bills. When the modified bill was returned to the Lower House for reconsideration, it was rejected there. Then a joint meeting of the committees of both Houses was held, and the modified bill passed again. Subsequently it was voted down by a unanimous vote in the Lower House, and thus no revision was made in the fourth session.

The treaty revision, which twice had been the center of public discussions and which each time had extremely embarrassed the government,

appeared again during the fourth session. A draft of a memorial addressed to the Throne was introduced by eight members of the House indorsed by the joint signatures of forty-eight others. The draft was as follows:

. . . . The extraterritoriality exempts foreigners from our Imperial jurisdiction and the tariff agreement permits them to escape all our customs duties, while their own states request our people to obey their laws and to pay their tariffs. Consequently our laws have drooped and dwindled, and our commerce and industry are going to be hopelessly overrun by foreign competitors.

In short, such diplomatic blunders have undoubtedly been the result of the ignorance of the authorities as to the world's situation at the time when the treaties were concluded. That is the reason why we should not neglect the treaty revision for a moment. . . . . The real cause of the repeated failure to have a successful treaty revision in order to ease Your Majesty's mind is that our government authorities did not take into consideration the public opinion of our state. Our careful observation has convinced us that in most other states diplomatic affairs are based fundamentally on public opinion; and they do not allow their government officials to handle them arbitrarily. Why should our state not do the same? If our authorities had noticed this fact earlier, we believe that the matter of treaty revision would have been solved as easily as a sharp ax cuts the morning mushrooms, and we would not have met with these difficulties today.

Power to conclude the treaties is in the hands of the supreme authority of Your Majesty; and we, your subjects, should not discuss it disrespectfully. You, however, previously made an oath to the Gods of Heaven and Earth that you would allow all state affairs to be decided by impartial discussion, and that administrative matters should be conducted by co-operation of the governing and the governed; that is to say, you would consider the people's mind as your mind. Consequently we, your subjects, most respectfully communicate to you the result of the public discussions in the Diet and the public opinion of the whole state. The people are requesting the revocation of extraterritoriality, re-establishment of tariff, prohibition of free sea-coast trade by foreigners, refusal of any exemption to foreigners on matters restricted by our Imperial Laws; in short, the conclusion of foreign treaties on equal footing with the other states.

Your august virtue is broad enough to cover everything in the state. Consequently, we most respectfully present this memorial to you with the hope that Your Majesty will accept what the public opinion of our nation most rigorously demands now.

About this time spirited arguments were taking place between government and anti-government newspapers. The following editorial appeared in the *Nippo* December 26, 1892:

. . . . We can hardly bear to look upon the present political situation of our country. Three hundred figures in the Diet are not, of course, mere puppets. They can see with their eyes, hear with their ears, and move themselves with their limbs. Although their shoulders are so slim, did they not pledge to carry the heavy burden of popular expectations? However crude and coarse their brains may be, do they not compose the highest organ for the state legislation? To the Imperial House above and to the people below what sort of obligations do they have?

Now, do they believe that they are performing their duties by simply making such boisterous noises in the Assembly Hall as if they were frogs, cicadas, crows, kites, or seagulls? In the morning they say yes, and in the evening they shout no. Now they support the right and then the left: they change their opinions frivolously, and thus lose the confidence of the public. Yet they think that such is the normal practice of statesmen.

After a careful scrutiny we can discover no trace of virtue nor sense of honor in their heads. National interest and public welfare do not concern them at all. When once influenced, they change to horses and cows; if irritated, they become wild boars and stags; and when skilfully led, they change at once to meek cats and dogs. They have no definite opinions of their own. By criticisms of the masses they fall and rise, live or die, smile or cry, and make noises like insects.

The popular hopes of our nation have already been crushed. They are now the boneless trout, which have no more business in this world of ours. Let us cook and devour them!

The House of Representatives at once filed a libel suit against the *Nippo Sha* in an Imperial Court of Justice.

In the fifth session, convoked November 25, 1893, the anti-government parties demanded strict enforcement of official discipline in the government and rigid application of the treaty regulation upon foreigners living in imperial territory.

The members of the House of Representatives discovered that Zojiro Goto, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and Shuichiro Saito, his Vice-Minister, were involved in some dishonest business interests. They

also heard that Toru Hoshi, Speaker of the House, was then holding the position of councilorship of the Osaka stock exchange. Consequently, before they impeached government officials, they decided to clean their own house. In the opening session the House passed a resolution of non-confidence on the Speaker by a vote of 166 against 119. Speaker Hoshi, a headstrong man, however, did not heed the advice, and the next day, occupying the seat of Speaker as usual, he announced, "The Speaker, as he had stated previously, did not commit any wrong deed which causes him pangs of conscience and therefore he cannot obey the House resolution. Consequently, this problem has been all settled now. So, let us proceed with the order of the day!" The entire House was stupefied for a while. Then another resolution was passed to the effect that the day's session should be suspended in order to give the Speaker more time to reflect. The next day Hoshi appeared again in the House and calmly occupied the Speaker's seat is if nothing had happened. The House again passed the same resolution as on the previous day; but again on the next day Hoshi appeared. Thereupon a resolution to present an impeachment memorial to the Throne was passed after a hot debate. As soon as this resolution was passed, Hoshi, who had retired while the discussion was going on, reappeared in the Speaker's chair and said, "I consider the resolution now passed by this House an unconstitutional act, and that it leaves an evil precedent in our constitutional history. Therefore, I have firmly made up my mind not to resign regardless of whatever resolutions may be passed in this House. But since you are to appeal to the Emperor and cause His Majesty worry through my conduct I feel the greatest awe. Therefore, I will temporarily assign the Speaker's chair to the Vice-Speaker for several days, and will confine myself."

By a resolution of the disciplinary committee of the House Hoshi was forbidden to attend the House for one week, and was requested to decide upon his resignation in that period. On the expiration of that time he again occupied the Speaker's chair. An emergency resolution to refer the matter to the disciplinary committee was made. Hoshi arrogantly announced, "Before the House discusses the emergency resolution I command it to discuss, as a previous question, whether it is a matter

properly to be submitted to the disciplinary committee." Thereupon the indignation of the anti-governmental parties reached a climax, and the House went into an uproar. The following motion was made: "When a motion of a disciplinary matter regarding Mr. Hoshi, a member of the House, was made, the Speaker purposely insisted that there was a doubt as to the legality of that motion and commanded the House to discuss it first. Thus by ignoring the House rule and abusing the official power, he created a great disorder in the House. This is clearly an act to be referred to the disciplinary committee, and therefore it shall be done." The matter was at once submitted to the disciplinary committee, who decided to expel Hoshi from the House. This resolution was passed by a vote of 185 against 92, and he was expelled on October 13.

The House of Representatives, having soothed its own conscience, now presented a memorial to the Throne impeaching the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce and his Vice-Minister.

Next in importance to the disciplinary problem was the question of foreign treaties. The early treaties were exceedingly unsatisfactory. They could not have been fully enforced upon the foreigners, because the pressure of the Western states against their enforcement was very strong. A bill to present an impeachment of the government to the Throne was introduced in the House of Representatives. In it were enumerated the causes for complaint: that in civil suits the Japanese government voluntarily submitted the matter to the trial of foreign jurisdictions; that Japanese was not spoken in Japanese courts when foreigners were involved; that the stamp tax on the filing of suit was not enforced on the foreigners; that police jurisdiction was not applied to the person and property of the foreigners; that foreigners profited by buying and selling real estate against the treaty agreement; that foreigners were doing business either directly or through agents in localities outside the trading ports, which were limited by the treaties; that taxes which should have been paid were not enforced upon foreigners; that when warships of foreign states entered the ports which were not opened to them by the treaties, the intimidated government did not protest; that quarantine laws were not enforced upon foreigners and their vessels, even at the time of the great cholera epidemic, which

was brought from China by foreign vessels; that municipal hunting laws were not enforced upon foreigners; that the prohibition of free traveling and free living of foreigners outside established districts was the natural requirement coexisting with the right of the extra-territoriality they possess, but that they were freely violating this obligation while they enforced their own rights upon the Japanese; that secret fisheries by foreigners were not strictly controlled by our government, etc. While the House was discussing the bill, threats of foreign ministers to the effect that Japan should not enforce the treaties were communicated to the government.

At this time another unfortunate incident happened. An imperial gunboat "Chishima Go," which had just been completed in France and was being brought to Japan, collided with an English boat in Seto Bay, an unquestionably territorial water of Japan, and sunk with its entire crew, leaving no trace behind. The Japanese government filed a suit for its damage in the name of the Emperor of Japan in the English consul court at Yokohama. The defendant English corporation brought a cross-action in the English appellate court at Shanghai, China, and there it was decided that Seto Bay is not Japan's territorial water. The Japanese government lost its case, and was bitterly attacked by the public. In the Anglo-Japanese treaty it was agreed that a civil suit brought by a Japanese subject against a British subject, started in Japanese territory, should belong to the jurisdiction of the British consul in Japan; but as to a suit brought by the Japanese government against a British subject, there was no special agreement. Consequently, it was considered that such a suit should come under the jurisdiction of the Japanese courts. The government had made a great mistake in using the name of the Emperor as plaintiff in the suit brought in a consul court of a foreign state. The House of Representatives demanded an explanation, and the government replied in a very brief statement, which did not satisfy the House. A clear oral explanation was requested of all state ministers. The Cabinet refused this request, however, and no further explanations were given.

On December 19, 1893, a bill to present a memorial to the Throne as to the "Chishima Go" incident appeared in the House; and together

with the other bills of "strict enforcement of foreign-treaty right" were to be discussed and passed on that day. The passage of these bills by an overwhelming majority seemed certain. Just before the debate began, an imperial command to suspend the session for ten days was served, and the House was adjourned. During the period of suspension the government tried all sorts of lobbying in vain. The duress of the foreign states through their ministers had been very strong; and the government had been forced to the last resort to avoid serious international difficulties—the dissolution of the House.

During this session many bills of impeachment and memorials appeared, but after repeated suspensions of the Diet it was at last dissolved. This iron-handed method of the government irritated the hitherto inactive House of Peers, and it addressed an advisory letter to the Cabinet. In reply, Premier Ito accused the unruliness of the Lower House, which made the Upper House extremely indignant, and a strong protest censuring many of the government's actions was at once sent to Ito. No reply was given to this accusation.

In the general election, which was held March 1, 1894, the anti-government parties again won the majority; and as soon as the sixth session was convoked on May 12, the Lower House passed the following resolution:

> We consider it an unconstitutional act that the government dissolved the Diet in the Fifth Session before this House had made its final resolutions and actions public, and that there was no reason for the dissolution announced. Therefore we resolve that that action taken by the government in the dissolution of the Diet at the Fifth Session lacks the support of this House.

An impeachment memorial was presented to the Emperor May 30. It was not accepted, however, and the Diet was dissolved on the next day.

There was never before so violent a conflict between the government and the Diet in the political history of Japan. Regardless of the determined opposition of the Lower House in the two succeeding sessions, the government absolutely ignored public opinion. Legally there is no rule in the Japanese constitution which limits the number of times a Diet may be dissolved. But no cabinet could remain in session amidst such strong disapproval of the public. A bill to revise the Press Law appeared

in this session, but was voted down as usual. At this time freedom of discussion, assemblage, and association was rigidly restricted; and the suspension of newspaper publication was a daily occurrence. Many political organizations were dissolved at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior for disturbing peace and order. Both government and anti-government factions availed themselves of every device for defeating each other, and this was the stormiest period in the political experience of the Japanese.

Why did such bitter conflict exist between the government and Diet? The greatest problems of the day were concerned, first, with the development of constitutional government and, second, with the aspiration for national growth. The whole nation demanded equality in its international relations. It believed that it now deserved to be admitted to the family of civilized nations on an equal footing, and that the discriminatory terms of foreign treaties should be abrogated at once. All factions agreed on this basic idea; but the contention between the government and the opposing political parties was that the latter were impatient with the slow diplomatic progress made by the authorities. In a word, the social unrest, due to the gradual growth of the spirit of democracy on one hand, and the rise of nationalistic aspirations on the other, was the principal cause of the existing conflict. The treaty-revision problem and other international difficulties created a strong national self-consciousness and stimulated the growth of reactionary nationalism which culminated in a war with China.

CHAPTER IX

THE REACTIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

For nearly twenty years after the Restoration of 1868 a worship-the-West mania swept over Japan. The science and art of the West were obviously superior and its philosophy novel. The people of Japan began blindly to follow everything foreign. Whatever was old was depreciated and whatever new admired, and at one time it seemed as though the mores would be completely upset.

Then the Japanese had begun to think in terms of a world-power. They thought their political system equal to those of the Western states; their laws were as good, and their public as well educated. Why then did the foreigners, they wondered, still look down upon them and refuse them equal treatment in the family of states? They began to make a serious study of the nature of Western civilization, instead of blindly worshiping it, and discovered its defects and shortcomings. At the same time they turned a critical eye upon their own civilization, a product of three thousand years, and began to appreciate its valuable elements. They recognized their national blunder. The study of Japanese and Chinese classics and Buddhist philosophy, which had been grossly neglected since the Restoration, was revived. In 1882 a special course in Japanese classics was provided in the Tokyo Imperial University to investigate the literature and institutions of Japan. A cry for the "preservation of the national characteristics" was loudly raised.

At this psychological moment the Imperial Rescript for Education was issued. This rescript has become the fundamental principle of national education. It is read in all schools each national holiday, and its text is thoroughly committed to memory by the school children. The following is an authorized translation of its text:

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever

united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and culture arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the propriety of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye be not only Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed to us by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may al thus attain to the same virtue.

The Thirtieth day of the Tenth Month
of the Twenty-third Year of Meiji (1890)
Imperial Sign Manual
Privy Seal

The Buddhists and Shintoists began to attack the newly propagated Christianity on the basis that the latter was opposed to the Imperial Rescript for Education which emphasizes loyalty and filial piety as the basis for all virtues. Dr. Tetsujiro Inoue, professor of philosophy of the Imperial University, was the leader of this anti-Christian propaganda. Christian scholars such as Toki-o Yokoi and Goro Takahashi made rebuttal, and spirited arguments continued for more than a year. These temporary conflicts, however, brought about a better mutual understanding between the different doctrines and a healthier development of their respective fields. Christianity in Japan, which had hitherto ignored the mores of the nation, began to adapt itself to the national characteristics; and the Buddhists and Shintoists began to approach Christianity both in ideas and practices.

Regardless of successive dissolutions of the Diet the political parties continued to attack the diplomatic weakness of the government. An

anti-government journalists' association began a vigorous attack on the government's foreign policy. The dissolution of the organization was ordered and any co-operative activity among political parties prohibited. National opinion was deeply stirred. Jingoes and zealots gnashed their teeth with indignation at the humiliating treatment by the foreigners.

Of all the foreign states whose attitude had irritated Japan, China ranked first. China entirely misunderstood the national psychology and the real strength of Japan just as Russia did ten years later. The Chinese could not realize the rapid internal development and fulfilment of the national strength of Japan. Nor had they taken into consideration the growing nationalistic spirit. They observed only the apparently hopeless conflicts between the government and the Diet, the discontent of the people, and the ever-timid diplomatic attitude taken by the government. Above all, the Chinese failed to realize that these internal disturbances were caused by the growth of the national strength and higher aspirations of the people. China, therefore, kept up her traditional arrogant attitude toward Japan. The dispute in Korea brought about the crisis; and the curtain was raised on the Japan-China War (August 1, 1894—April 14, 1895). When war was declared, to her great surprise China found Japan organized—one in heart and one in action.

At the end of this war the long-awaited treaty revision with foreign states was drawn up, though not in an entirely satisfactory way; and thus Japan's first steps into the family of the world-powers were taken.

National contentment brought about by the conclusion of the peace treaty with China did not last long. Another political catastrophe, the so-called "Three States' Intervention," came like a thunderbolt. The League of the Three States, Russia, Germany, and France, sent coercive advice to the Japanese government that Japan should return her newly added territory of Liaotung Peninsula to China for the sake of the "preservation of the future peace in the Far East." These three states believed that the time would soon come when the Chinese Empire should be cut to pieces and divided among the world-powers. Consequently, they did not want the entrance to their great future booty land

to be in the hands of the Japanese. So they concentrated their combined fleet near the coast of Japan and awaited her reply. There seemed but one course for the Japanese government to take. Liaotung Peninsula, the prize of the hard-fought war, was snatched from her hands.

Political parties and newspapers broke the submissive quiet they had maintained during the war, and declared a bitter war against the government. "Glorious victory in war and crushing defeat in diplomacy!" echoed from corner to corner of the Island Empire. Suspension after suspension of newspaper publications and dissolutions of political associations and mass meetings occurred. All public speakers were constantly watched by secret-service men, and even private parties were interrupted by the police. Co-operation among political organizations was strictly forbidden. In the ninth session of the Diet (December 28, 1895—March 29, 1896) an impeachment bill appeared, but after a hot debate between the government and anti-government parties it was defeated. The House agreed that whosesoever the blame, the return of the Liaotung Peninsula was due to necessity, and that the post-bellum program was far more important now than "counting the age of the dead child," as a Japanese proverb says.

During this session another problem appeared to make the situation more difficult. Russia, which but a short time before had forced Japan to give up Liaotung Peninsula for the sake of the "future peace in the Far East," now obtained political control over Manchuria and Korea, expelling all Japanese influence. The Korean government was established in the building of the Russian legation. All government orders had to pass the censorship of the Russian minister. A wholesale massacre of pro-Japanese officials took place, and their corpses were exposed on the streets or burned in the busiest corners of the capital. The Japanese went wild with wrath. A bill for a non-confidence resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Kokumin Kyokai (Nationalists' League), a semi-government party who only a short time before most strongly opposed the passage of the impeachment bill regarding the Liaotung problem. It became apparent now that the government would be compelled to act immediately. Suddenly an imperial order was issued to suspend the Diet for ten days. During

this time the government succeeded in softening the Kokumin Kyokai, and the bill was defeated.

Press Law revision bills appeared in the eighth and the ninth sessions of the Diet, and each time they were promptly passed in the House of Representatives and rejected in the House of Peers. It was evident that the freedom of discussion guaranteed by the constitution was to remain a dead clause for some time.

This was the period in which both constitutionalism and nationalism made marked progress through the stimulation of newspapers.

CHAPTER X

COMMERCIAL JOURNALS

The Japan-China War marked a new epoch for journalism in Japan. Until about 1897 the dominant interest of Japanese newspapers, whether pronounced party organs or otherwise, was political. Therefore editorials occupied the most important place in journalism. Since the war, however, the rapid economic development of the country had brought about a great change.

Commerce and industry, which had been developing gradually since the Restoration, had an enormous growth after the nineties. Since 1868 foreign trade had doubled every ten years. During the decade between 1892 and 1902 it nearly quadrupled. So was it also with investments of joint-stock enterprises. The two following tables show the development of these two economic items:

FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN (IN YEN 1,000)[1]

Year	Exports	Imports	Total	Balance
1868	15,553	10,693	26,246	4,860
1877	23,348	27,420	50,769	4,072*
1887	52,407	44,304	96,711	8,103
1892	91,199	75,982	167,181	15,217
1897	177,875	274,170	452,046	96,295*
1902	285,093	300,938	586,031	15,844*
1907	463,362	515,285	978,648	51,922*
1912	568,942	689,659	1,258,601	120,717*
1917	1,198,677	807,964	2,006,642	390,713

* Signifies the excess of imports over exports.

The demand for commercial advertising naturally increased, and the most effective means was, of course, newspapers and periodicals. In Japan the revenue from subscriptions is not sufficient for the maintenance of newspapers. Besides subscriptions, party or government subsidies,

[1] The *Kokumin, Kokumin Nenkan,* 1917, pp. 275–76.

and contributions of sympathizers, the most important source of newspaper revenue is from advertisements. To attract advertisements, a paper must have a large circulation.

Yukichi Fukuzawa was, perhaps, the pioneer in introducing an independent newspaper in Japan. He established the *Jiji* in 1882, and printed only articles of economic and social importance and non-partisan matters of state. This policy met with popular approval, and the *Jiji* maintained a fair circulation. It was not a successful business venture,

PAID-UP CAPITAL IN THE INVESTMENTS IN JOINT-STOCK ENTERPRISES (IN YEN 1,000)[1]

Year	Banking	Transport Business	Industry	Trade	Agriculture	Total
1894.....	101,409	82,560	44,589	20,014	1,188	249,762
1907.....	444,204	150,891	381,815	125,282	12,035	1,114,227
1915.....	651,237	245,508	879,540	1,010,939	31,736	2,818,961

however. The beginning of the newspaper as a commercial enterprise was made by Ryuhei Murayama, a man of keen business insight. Although not a learned person, he was a keen observer of the changing social conditions of the time. He boldly launched a new policy in newspaper enterprise. Profit was his sole purpose, and to that end he concentrated his attention on giving good news, spending large amounts of money, and making use of every available means of communication. His paper, the *Osaka Asahi*, established 1879, increased its circulation far more rapidly than any other newspaper of that day. Its rival paper, the *Osaka Mainichi*, soon adopted a similar system, and subsequently nearly all the large newspapers in Japan followed the lead of Osaka journalism.

About this time the literary style of Japanese newspapers made a great improvement through the influence of Soho Tokutomi, who later became the owner of the *Kokumin*. Journalistic literature of the early days was a modification of Chinese composition, which necessitates a very awkward sentence-structure. A movement to give up the defective

[1] *Japan Year Book*, 1917, pp. 482–83; *Kokumin Nenkan*, 1918.

elements of Chinese syntax, ornamental words, and superfluous phrases had been started by Yukichi Fukuzawa. Tokutomi now introduced the short, concise sentence-form. Fumio Yano, editor of the *Hochi*, returned from Europe in 1885 with the idea that first a newspaper must lower subscription price within reach of the lower and middle classes. He put this new policy into practice: its monthly subscription was lowered from 75 sen to 25 sen, the literary style was simplified, and serial stories were added. The circulation of the *Hochi* rapidly increased, and soon other Tokyo papers adopted a similar system.

Then, in the nineties, sensationalism, another new element, was introduced into Japanese journalism. The *Yorozu*, which was established in 1892, the *Yomiuri*, established in 1893, and the *Niroku*, established in 1893, began "muckraking." This sensationalism, however, increased the circulation of these papers rapidly, especially among subscribers of the lower classes, who heretofore had not been much interested in newspapers. In this respect these "yellow" journals served as a means of popularizing Japanese journalism. Kuroiwa also introduced a new kind of newspaper fiction. He published translations of Western detective stories in the *Yorozu* which soon became so popular that it was widely imitated.

After the Russo-Japanese War, the *Hochi*, under the management of Gensai Murai, began to publish interesting serial stories, and departments treating various interests, such as medical, legal, business, educational, domestic. This innovation met with remarkable success, and the *Hochi*, which had a circulation of only five thousand before the war, obtained more than fifty thousand circulation in a few years. This new policy was soon adopted by other newspapers in Japan.[1]

Another factor which promoted the development of Japanese journalism was the introduction of the rotary press from France. The first rotary press used in Japan was imported by the Bureau of the *Official Gazette* about 1887. In 1889 the *Osaka Asahi* brought a similar machine from France. They made it possible to print a large number of papers in a short time. Since 1906 several manufactories of rotary-press machines have been established in Japan, and at the present time Japanese-made machines far exceed the imported ones.

[1] Okuma, S., *Fifty Years of New Japan*, II, 407–8.

The remarkable increase in the national population, diffusion of general education, and development of means of communication, and the many great wars stimulated the increase of newspaper circulation. The following table shows the growth of population in New Japan:

Year	Population of Japan[1]
1867	approximately 30,000,000
1874	33,625,000
1884	37,451,000
1893	41,388,000
1903	46,732,000
1913	53,362,000
1919	approximately 58,000,000

The civil wars of the early period of New Japan, Japan-China War, Russo-Japanese War, and the recent Great War were great incentives to the growth of circulation—nor did the increased circulation fall back to the pre-war condition in times of peace.

Thus newspapers in Japan changed from private party organs to independent commercial enterprises.

CIRCULATION

The first marked increase of newspaper circulation came after the Saigo Civil War of 1877. At the end of that war there were 225 papers

TOTAL DAILY CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS IN 1915[2]

Localities*	Papers	Rotary Presses	Daily Circulation
Tokyo	15	54	1,583,278
Osaka	6	25	765,554
Provincial	67	74	968,641
Papers using the old-type press	.....	.....	1,000,000
Total circulation			4,300,000

* Formosa, Chosen, and Sakhalin not included.

with a total yearly circulation of 37,683,330. In 1887 there were 470 papers with 95,932,270 yearly circulation in whole Japan; in 1897, 745

[1] The population of Korea numbering about 12,000,000 is not included in these figures.

[2] The *Shimbun Kogiroku*, chapter on "Business Methods," p. 58.

papers with 431,810,000 yearly circulation; and in 1895 the daily circulation of the only Tokyo newspapers was about 70,000; in 1905 it increased to 350,000; and in November of 1912 it passed 510,000. The approximate circulation in the country in 1915 is given on page 106. The exact circulation of each newspaper is kept secret, but it can be estimated from the amount of paper used. The figures show that in the year 1915 there was one copy sold to every ten of the population, and that the circulation increased every year by 15 per cent or more.

As to the daily circulation of each leading newspaper the following estimate was generally accepted as correct in March, 1918:

DAILY CIRCULATION OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS IN MARCH, 1918[1]

Name of Newspaper	Circulation
1. *Osaka Asahi*	500,000
2. *Osaka Mainichi*	500,000
3. *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*	335,000
4. *Hochi*	280,000
5. *Kokumin*	200,000
6. *Tokyo Asahi*	190,000
7. *Tokyo Mai-yu*	125,000
8. *Yorozu*	120,000
9. *Yamato*	120,000
10. *Tokyo Jiji Shimpo*	100,000
11. *Miyako*	60,000
12. *Chu-o*	55,000
13. *Yomiuri*	45,000
14. *Chugai Shogyo*	35,000
15. *Tokyo Mainichi*	20,000
16. *Niroku*	20,000

The expense of publishing a newspaper in Japan, as in most Western countries, exceeds the income from subscriptions. The price of printing

[1] These figures were given to me by Mr. Keishi Iseri, a journalist friend of mine in Tokyo.

paper of an eight-page newspaper, which is the common size at present, in 1916 was 15 sen a month. With ink and other material it cost 17 sen. When the fees paid to the newspaper-distributing agencies were added, the minimum cost of one copy was 23 to 26 sen a month. This does not include salaries, telegraph fees, office or editorial expenses. The cost of printing paper is therefore about equal to that of all other items in making the newspaper. The total cost of one copy of an eight-page newspaper was approximately 30 sen a month. The average subscription price was, however, less than 30 sen. From this announced subscription price commissions of 5 to 8 sen per month are allowed the distributing agencies, and from ½ to 1 sen to the larger newspaper brokers (eight of them in Tokyo). Therefore the net receipts of newspaper offices were from 21 to 24½ sen monthly subscription. Advertisements are all that bring a net profit to the newspapers.

In order to attract advertising, the following methods for increasing circulation are used by newspapers:

1. *Distribution of free sample copies.*—Through distributing agencies free sample copies are sent daily for one or two weeks to a house. After that the carrier calls to solicit a subscription. This is a common and an efficient system. The expense, however, both of the sample copies and the carriers, is large, amounting to 2 yen for one new subscription. Most newspapers are forced by competition to distribute from 20 per cent to 30 per cent of their actual subscription number as free samples.

2. *Rebate of subscription.*—The average Japanese reader prefers a newspaper with lower subscription rate even if the quality be a little inferior, and this is especially so with new subscribers. Therefore, newspapers frequently reduce a 35 sen monthly subscription to 25, 20, or even as low as 15 sen. This reduction to new subscribers necessitates a special rate for the newspaper-distributing agencies and extra pay to the carriers.

3. *Other competitive methods.*—Novel and less expensive means of increasing circulation are in great demand. Premiums are offered: free bathing-places at the seashore, invitations to theaters, rebates on railroad fares, free traveling shows, free lectures, social gatherings, running

races of donkeys and cows, firefly-catching parties in Tokyo, traveling free expositions, pearl-fishing parties, and many other eccentric devices are adopted. Voting for the most popular actor, actress, beautiful woman, geisha girl, mercantile house, temple, etc., came into vogue, and prizes were given to the winners. This practice was supervised or forbidden by the police department, as were also hidden-treasure hunting and lottery tickets. Recently base ball, tennis, boat-racing, airplane-flying exhibitions, and various intercollegiate sports were used for advertising pusposes.[1]

The talk of Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, president of the *Osaka Mainichi*, one of the two largest papers in Japan, on the rise and fall of newspaper circulation, is worth quoting:

> The circulation of newspapers which stand purely on a business basis is more steady than those which are tinted with partisan or group interests or opinions. This is the reason why the subscribers of Osaka papers do not change so frequently as those of Tokyo papers. When beautiful picture supplements are added to the New Year edition, the circulation in January increases from 40 per cent to 50 per cent, and subsequently it decreases every month until it reaches the minimum about August. This may be the result of hot weather on one hand, or of the busiest season of farmers on the other. From September it increases again. At the time when the National Assembly was first established there was a considerable increase of circulation, but today the opening of the parliamentary session does not affect it. The change of cabinet shows no effect either. A remarkable increase was noticed at the time of the Japan-China War and the Russo-Japanese War. This is perhaps due to the patriotic spirit of the nation. Another increase came a little after the death of the late Emperor Mutsuhito. On this occasion there was a peculiar phenomenon: that increase of circulation did not occur when the seriousness of His Majesty's condition was reported day and night by extra editions of all newspapers, but it came when he was dead and the news of his funeral was given out. Why was this? We can hardly consider it to have been either a result of patriotic or loyal feeling. Someone said that it was because the great funeral, which was conducted with an extraordinarily magnificent ceremony, became the subject-matter of general gossip and people

[1] Practically based on the *Shimbun Kogiroku*, chapter on "Business Methods," pp. 70–78.

felt it to be a shame if they could not talk about this great event. Again at the beginning of the great World's War the circulation increased markedly and while the German-Japanese War was in progress in Kiao-Chau it increased by 50 per cent. But after the fall of Tsingtao it rapidly decreased, although the war in Europe was growing more intense and Japan herself was still concerned in it. . . . .[1]

In spite of the foregoing practices of Japanese newspapers, their financial condition is generally serious. One of the handicaps of journalism in Japan is the fact that there is no alphabet. All printing is done with a mixed form of Chinese ideographs and Japanese syllabaries called *kana*. Four or five thousand ideographs are used, and the composing room of a newspaper must be provided with more than 10,000. Typewriters or linotypes are useless. Consequently a much larger number of printers are needed than for Western newspapers, and typesetters must be trained from boyhood. It is safe to say that Japanese printers walk many miles every day in the composing room to pick up these 10,000 widely scattered types. Moreover, Chinese ideographs are too hard for the ordinary high-school graduate to read unless they are attached with *kana*, the phonetic interpretation. Thus the printing process in Japan takes many times the labor required for the printing of Western newspapers, and in spite of low wages the expense of publication becomes enormous.

A great weakness of Japanese journalists is their lack of business training. Lastly, there are too many newspapers, and competition makes the subscription price as well as the advertising rates too low.

ADVERTISEMENTS

According to the *Shimbun Kogiroku*, the income from advertisements is about 1,000 yen a day in the first-class newspapers of Tokyo. In February, 1918, the *Shin-Jidai* stated that during the previous year the daily income from advertisements of the two Osaka papers increased to more than 2,600 yen. In provincial newspapers a monthly revenue of 1,000 yen is considered fair.

[1] Sekitaro Uokawa, *Shimbun ni Narumade*, Supplement, pp. 15–19.

In 1914 the income from advertisements in the leading newspapers was as follows:[1]

	Papers	Year	Month	Average One Paper per Month
Tokyo	15	¥3,820,000	¥320,000	¥21,000
Osaka	4	¥2,160,000	¥180,000	¥45,000
Province	54	¥1,740,000	¥145,000	¥ 2,700

The foregoing statistics are based on definite stated rates. The existing rebates, which are kept secret by all papers, however, must have made the actual amount of income less than this list. Increased circulation means an increased rate of advertisement. Often the rate is higher the first part of the month than in the latter part. There is a difference of rates according to the nature of things advertised; for instance, such things as stocks and bonds, legal advertisements, and balance sheets of banks and other corporations are charged higher rates than patent medicines, toilet articles, steamships, and theaters. The latter group predominates in newspaper advertisements and therefore are offered special rebates.

The circulation of newspapers has had a 15 per cent yearly increase, advertisements a 20 per cent increase. From 55 to 60 per cent of the income of metropolitan papers today is from advertisements, the rest from subscriptions. With provincial newspapers the reverse is true.

As in other countries newspaper advertisements in Japan are not handled directly by the newspaper offices. The advertising agency made its appearance at a comparatively early period. Its originator was a certain Ohira, a member of the business staff of the *Times*, which was established in Tokyo in 1884. In 1886 the Sanseisha, an organized advertising agency, was established in Tokyo by the suggestion of Yukichi Fukuzawa. Since then incorporated agencies, established with larger amounts of capital, have handled almost all the advertising of large newspapers.

[1] The *Shimbun Kogiroku*, chapter on "Business Methods," p. 37.

THE LEADING ADVERTISING AGENCIES IN TOKYO IN 1909[1]

Agency	Established in	Capital, Yen
1. Teikoku Tsushinsha	1894	10,000
2. Kohodo	1886	100,000
3. Shojikisha	.....	.....
4. Hakuho-do	1896	100,000
5. Nippon Dempo-Tsushinsha	1901	100,000
6. Mannensha	.....	.....
7. Keikasha	.....	.....

Besides there are more than 200 minor advertising agencies just in Tokyo; and Osaka, Kyoto, and other provincial cities have many.

News-gathering agencies now consider the business of the advertising agency one of their most profitable side lines.

NEWS-GATHERING AGENCIES

The first news-gathering agency appeared in Tokyo in 1887 under the name "Jiji Tsushinsha." It supplied political news only. Besides newspaper offices, governors and chiefs of police of prefectural governments were its subscribers. In 1889 Shimbun Yotashi-Kaisah, in 1890 Tokyo Tsushin, and after 1897 large numbers of news agencies were established all over the country. At present there are about twenty-five of them in Tokyo. Nippon Dempo Tsushin, Teikoku Tsushin, Choya Tsushin, Jiyu Tsushin, Chugai Tsushin, Meiji Tsushin, Dokuritsu Tsushin, Naigai Chosa, Keizai Tsushin, Tokyo Tsushin, Jitsugyo Tsushin, Tomiyama Tsushin, Nippon Tsushin, Daito Tsushin, Chiyoda Tsushin, Kokusai Tsushin, Toyo Tsushin, Aikoku Tsushin, Taiyo Tsushin, Taisho Tsushin, Engei Tsushin, and a few others are the leading ones. There are also special news agencies such as Fujo Tsushin (Ladies' News Agency), Engei Tsushin (Theatrical News Agency), Jitsugyo Tsushin (Financial News Agency), etc. Dempo Tsushin is the largest, Tokyo Tsushin the next. Jiyu and Choya are party organs of the Seiyukai party and the Dokuritsu Tsushin of the Doshikai party. Nippon and Chiyoda handle only news from the Imperial Household. Kokusai Tsushin is an international news agency, connected with Reuter's of England.

[1] *The Newspaper Directory*, 1909, pp. 539–56.

This organization is said to be a semi-official interpreter of the Japanese government to the world. Nippon Dempo Tsushin has exchanges with the Associated Press of America.

As to the respective amount of news coming to Japan from different countries, the following statement of Professor Martin is interesting:

> The amount of space devoted to American news is small in comparison with European news. This is not due to a lack of interest in the United States but chiefly to the high cable tolls across the Pacific. The present cable rate, excluding the receiver's address, is about 50 cents a word. This must be borne entirely by the few Japanese papers receiving the messages. The arrangement with the Kokusai agency is such that the Japanese papers pay only a small part of the cable charges from London. The Reuter agency sends its cables to Shanghai and they are relayed from that point to Japan.
>
> A record of foreign news published by the leading Japanese papers in one month, November, 1917, shows that they carried altogether forty-five columns of news from Europe and only twelve from the United States. The news for that month was divided as follows: British army, eight columns; British parliament and general news, eight columns; Italy, eight and a half columns; France, three and a half columns; miscellaneous, including news of Germany, neutral countries and a small amount of the news of the United States sent through London, three columns. Of the twelve columns from the United States, six and a half columns were devoted to news of the Ishii and Megata commissions. One column was devoted to the United States army and navy, two and a half columns to general American news, and two columns to European news sent from New York or other points. A reduction in the cost of transmission of news across the Pacific, Japanese newspaper men assert, would mean a better understanding of conditions existing in this country, and, as a result, a better understanding of the foreign and domestic politics by the people of the two countries.[1]

NEWSPAPER-DISTRIBUTING AGENCIES

Until about 1894 newspaper offices sold directly to readers, distributing the papers by their own carriers and mail. But when the Japan-China War suddenly increased the circulation, newspaper-distributing agencies made their appearance. The result was that

[1] F. L. Martin, *The Journalism of Japan*, the *University of Missouri Bulletin*, Vol. 19, No. 10, p. 35.

newspaper offices simplified their business and diminished expense, while the public received better service. Instead of many newspaper vendors retracing each other's steps, a carrier from one agency distributes all papers. Papers are distributed directly to the readers now, only where a large number of readers live together, as in government offices, large office buildings, schools, etc.

In Tokyo there are: (1) Hakuryukan (for *Yamato*, *Chu-o*, *Jiji*, and *Tokyo Mainichi*); (2) Shinyei Goshikaisha (sole agency for *Miyako*); (3) Seishindo (agency to distribute local papers to the readers of Tokyo); (4) Ikueido (for all papers); (5) Naikoku Shimbun Goshikaisha (for all papers); (6) Mangensha (for all papers); (7) Johoku Goshikaisha (for all papers); (8) Kanda Shimbunten (for all papers). These eight are the principal newspaper brokers in Tokyo. They have several branch offices and subagents for the distribution of papers. The evening papers have special agents and are sold by hawkers. In every provincial city and village there are also local agents.

CLIPPING SUPPLY AGENCIES

At present there are two newspaper-clipping supply houses in Tokyo. According to the special demand, each subscriber receives what he especially wants—political, economic, literary, social, educational, religious, or other subjects. Many people subscribe for the clippings of the articles personally related to themselves. Nippon Kirinuki Tsushinsha was established in 1885 by the persuasion of the Imperial Household Department. Almost all nobles and other upper-class people are subscribers. The merit of the system is as follows:

1. Time economy. Subscribers can easily find desired articles. Furthermore, these clippings are delivered so quickly that frequently they reach the subscribers before the original newspapers are delivered.

2. Subscribers can read many newspapers at the expense of one.

3. This is an effective means of newspaper advertising. Each clipping is marked clearly with the name of the respective newspaper and the date of its publication. Consequently many newspaper offices supply the necessary amount of copies of their papers to the clipping supply houses free of charge, and others give large reductions.[1]

[1] *Newspaper Directory*, 1916, pp. 43–47.

EVENING NEWSPAPERS

In Tokyo, Osaka, and a few other large cities evening papers are now issued. They are sold by hawkers at busy corners, in street cars, railway stations, dockyards, and other places where large numbers of people gather or pass. There is no corner news stand like the ones found in American cities. The sale of evening papers goes on from four to eight in the afternoon. In February, 1916, Tokyo had 284 evening-paper agencies just for the sale of papers on street cars. The approximate number of copies sold by hawkers each evening was 45,000; this does not include those sold in monthly subscriptions.[1]

In Tokyo at present there are three newspapers which issue evening papers only. They are *Tokyo Mainichi*, *Tokyo Maiyu*, and *Tokyo Yukan*. Five papers publish both morning and evening editions (*Hochi*, *Yamato*, *Yorozu*, *Chuo*, and *Niroku*). Many people subscribe for both editions of the same or different papers.

PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS

The newspapers published outside of Tokyo and Osaka may be called provincial newspapers. These can be roughly classified into four groups. Those which belong to the first class have large circulations covering neighboring provinces. They are *Fukuoka Nichi-nichi* and *Shin-Aichi*, both of which have more than 50,000 circulation. Those of the second class have a circulation of from 20,000 to 50,000 and have about eight pages. There are fifteen newspapers of this class. The third-class papers are published in the capitals and the large cities of the provinces, and have a steady circulation of from 10,000 to 20,000. They are four- or six-page papers. The fourth-class papers are generally edited in the smaller cities and towns; they are four or six pages and have a circulation of between 1,000 and 10,000. They have no such equipment as the modern rotary-press machine.[2]

Most country newspapers still obtain subsidies from political parties. Consequently impartial treatment of news cannot be expected from them. They maintain a fair circulation compared with the capital

[1] The *Shimbun Kogiroku*, chapter on "Business Management," p. 63.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter on "Provincial Newspapers," pp. 3–4.

invested and the equipment of the establishment among the blindly partisan country people, who read party organs more than city people.

Besides these country papers there are many colonial papers. Wherever there are several thousand Japanese settled, there are newspapers edited in the Japanese language. Thus in the new territories of Formosa, Sakhalin, and Korea, and also in the colonies of Manchuria, in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankau, and several cities of Eastern Russia there are small Japanese newspapers. In the United States there are various Japanese papers—in the Hawaiian Islands, the Pacific Coast states, Denver, Salt Lake City, Chicago, and New York.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

There are several English papers for the foreign residents of Japan also. Some of them were established even earlier than the vernacular papers—the *Japan Mail* in 1865, the *Japan Gazette* in 1867, and the *Japan Chronicle* in 1868. Besides these there are the *Japan Advertiser*, the *Kobe Herald*, the *Nagasaki Press*, the *Seoul Press*, and the *Japan Times*, all of which are printed in English. Their circulation is naturally small, and consequently the subscription rates are much higher than the vernacular papers—from 20 to 27.50 yen a year. Except the *Japan Advertiser*, which is owned by an American, they are owned by Englishmen. The *Japan Advertiser* and the *Japan Chronicle* are the largest and most influential ones among them. Besides the local news, which is obtained by their own reporters, they purchase news from foreign and Japanese agencies. Most of the news is, however, translation of the articles which appear in the vernacular papers, in foreign newspapers, and periodicals. Some of the well-educated Japanese also subscribe for these papers to obtain the foreigners' point of view.

MAKE-UP OF NEWSPAPERS

The newspapers of Japan are six-, eight-, ten-, and twelve-page papers. The first page, which in Western newspapers is generally filled with the most important articles, is considered the least important and is often an ornamental page. It contains literary articles and advertisements. Some papers fill it with scientific articles, book reviews,

translations of Western literature, miscellanies, and fiction (*Yorozu*, *Yomiuri*, *Kokumin*, *Hochi*, *Yamato*, and *Chu-o*), while others use it for advertisements only (*Asahi*, *Nichi-nichi*, and *Jiji*.) The synthetic system of the Western newspapers is used only by a few like *Niroku* and *Maiyu*.

Most Japanese papers have taken the method of specialization of each page. This method has some merits; for instance, each paper comes to have a characteristic make-up, and readers may turn immediately to the page in which they are most interested. A disadvantage of this system is that the important news is scattered through all the pages. The first page generally treats of art and science, book reviews, advertisements, editorials, and the drama. Political and economic subjects are generally treated on the second page, and social news on the third. The sporting-news section, the family section, the provincial-news section, etc., are distributed among the other pages. The marginal space between the pages, which is left blank in all Western papers, is filled with less important news and the news which reached the office after the compilation of all regular forms had been closed.

SOCIAL POSITION OF JOURNALISTS

Journalists are generally poorly paid in Japan. This is due to the poor financial status of the papers. As stated elsewhere, in the earlier days editorial writers were paid rather exorbitant salaries. This was never so with the writers of general news and reporters, however. At present the first pay of a college-graduate reporter is about 30 yen a month with an additional allowance of 20 yen for car fare. On small newspapers the salary is about 25 yen. The political and economic news department pays a little higher salary than that stated above, but in general those who receive 100 yen a month are considered high-grade journalists. The head of each department is paid about 150 yen; the editors of the large papers receive 300 yen per month. There are a few papers such as the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Tokyo Asahi* which pay about 500 yen to their editors. Thus the yearly income of journalists ranges from about 200 yen to 6,000 yen. Bonuses, prizes, and other special-reward systems are provided in a few papers, but the pension system

has not been introduced. Consequently their remuneration is no better than that of school teachers and petty officials, and far inferior to employees of large business establishments, where the higher employees receive about 500 yen a month with bonuses of tens of thousands yen a year. Many journalists write for magazines and book publishers, so that their gross income compares favorably with other liberal professions in Japan.

Country papers usually pay about one-half the amount the metropolitan papers do—about 25 yen per month. Consequently many of them act as correspondents of metropolitan papers, and sell articles to magazines and publishers. Their pay is not only meager, but the competition is extremely sharp, and their positions are not secure. Therefore journalism is not a very attractive profession for capable and ambitious youths. Recently voices have been raised loudly from various quarters requesting better treatment for journalists so that the quality both of the journals and of the journalists may be improved.

Editorial writers have always been highly respected, but reporters were for a long time looked down upon as undesirable characters. To quote Mr. Inukai, "The reporters of the earlier days were an assortment of low-grade men. When people were visited by them, it was not seldom that things in the reception room were found missing after they had left. In other words, they were the 'rag-picker-wearing-frockcoat' sort of men." [1] After the Japan-China War, however, the tone of reporters improved, and the attitude of the general public toward them changed. At present the majority of reporters are college graduates, and in both character and ability many of them are not inferior to the editorial writers.

Journalism in Japan has made it possible for many capable men to make themselves known to the public, and therefore brought into public life. In the earlier period, when editorial writers were paid exorbitant salaries and were highly respected by everyone, a large number of young men entered the newspaper field and later distinguished themselves politically as well as socially. For instance, Ki Inukai, the leader of the Kokuminto (Nationalist party) and once the

[1] Ki Inukai, the *Daigaku Hyoron*, August, 1917, pp. 76–77.

Minister of Education; and Katsundo Minoura and Yukio Ozaki, the stars of the Kenseikai (Constitutional party), and many times state ministers, were all journalists on the *Hochi*. Viscount Takaaki Kato, the leader of the Kenseikai, who has been many times an ambassador and member of the Imperial Cabinet, was the president of the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*. Gijin Okuta, the late mayor of Tokyo, once a vice-minister as well as the president of the Bureau of Legislation, was a writer of the *Meiji Shimpo*. Saburo Shimada, a star of the Kenseikai party and ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives, was for many years editor-in-chief of the *Nichi-nichi*. Seiji Hayakawa, the ex-vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Tokitoshi Taketomi, ex-Minister of Finance, are also ex-journalists. Marquis Saionji, twice premier and recently the chief delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, Masahisa Matsuda, late Viscount Munemitsu Mutsu, Viscount Miyoji Ito, and many other distinguished statesmen are former journalists. Takashi Hara, the leader of the Seiyukai party and now the premier, was first a writer of the *Hochi* and later the editor-in-chief of the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Osaka Shimpo*. In the business circle, Hikojiro Nakakamigawa and many other prominent men were under the tutelage of the late Yukichi Fukuzawa. In the literary world there are large numbers of ex-journalists; and among well-known men of letters there is almost none who has had no journalistic experience. Therefore it may be said that journalism has been a stepping-stone to the success of many capable men, and a test of their capacity.

CENSORSHIP OF JOURNALS

By the Constitution of 1890 the people of Japan secured the right of freedom of discussion. Article Twenty-nine of the Constitution says, "A subject of Japan is guaranteed freedom of speech in publication, printing, assemblage, and association within the scope of the law." In practice, however, strict laws were applied, and freedom "within the scope of the law" has been extremely narrowed. Laws, decrees, and orders controlled the press. Since power to suspend publication of newspapers and periodicals was given to the Administrative Department, and since there were old despotic laws such as the

"laws applied to the acts of people insulting officials" (Kanri Bujoku-zai), newspapers suffered frequent prosecutions. After the Japan-China War, at the time of the "Three States' Intervention," almost all the newspapers in the country, except a few government organs, were suspended; and many journalists who had insulted policemen or other petty officials were imprisoned. At present the suspension of publication and prosecution of journalists on these grounds are not practiced, but there are other grounds such as "endangering foreign relations," "disturbance of social order," and "deleterious effect upon public morals," etc., the interpretation of which depends upon the officials.

CASES OF PROHIBITION OF PUBLICATION OR SALE OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS[1]

Year	Forbidden Sale	Suppressed	Suspended	Others	Cases at Law Courts	Given Warning
1913.....	74	74	2	5	197	103
*1914.....	453	453	1	2	114	194
1915.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Cases regarding diplomatic and military affairs were increased in 1914 on account of the European war.

The existing Press Law was drafted by Cho Shimizu, professor of constitutional law at the College for Peers, on May 6, 1909. This law is simply a modification of the old Press Law, and is still too rigid, containing such regulations as Article 21, which provides for the treatment of news concerning crimes; Article 23, which gives excessive power to the Minister of the Interior as to matters of "peace, order, and good customs"; Article 27, which allows for the suppression of the freedom of the press by the Minister of War and the Minister of Navy; and the enumeration of severe corporal punishments as penalties. No movements to revise these articles have succeeded. At present it is impossible to punish an editor or publisher except through the courts, although until 1897 the Minister of the Interior was allowed to judge and punish the violators of both laws and ordinances.

[1] *Japan Year Book*, 1917, p. 316.

The censorship of all publications is in the hands of the Police Bureau under the control of the Department of the Interior. All matters which are dangerous morally or politically—anarchy, socialism, etc.—are censored. In war time, military and diplomatic matters are carefully watched. Of Maupassant, Flaubert, and other French writers, only the originals are allowed on the market, a precaution to safeguard the morals of the masses.

CASES OF PUBLICATIONS OTHER THAN NEWSPAPERS[1]

Year	Books Forbidden Sale and Suppressed		Magazines		Almanacs* Forbidden	Cases at Court
	Public Order	Morals	Publication Suspended	Given Warning		
1912	3	167	7	59	46	17
1913	17	1,096	18	91	41	21
1914	37	673	1	40	32	.....
1915	34	519	.....	53	48	.....

*The right of issuing almanacs is solely reserved for the Office of the Great Shrine of Ise.

Recently the editorial has lost its prestige to news and fiction articles. Since education has become more general, people wish to have facts presented to them from which they may form their own opinions. Furthermore, political matters are no longer the supreme problems. For the last four or five years social problems, and particularly labor problems, have been given considerable space in editorials, news, and special articles.

[1] *Japan Year Book*, 1917, p. 316.

CHAPTER XI

INDEPENDENT JOURNALS AND THE RISE OF PUBLIC OPINION

A result of the rise of independent journals with their accurate news and fair interpretations of current problems was the growth of the power of public opinion.

As long as newspapers are factional organs and their news and editorials biased, their circulation will be small. Man, by nature, is more interested in actual facts, though they are adverse to his own interests, than doubtful information regarding these facts. Politics is no exception to this rule, and a prejudiced party organ cannot satisfy even a strongly partisan mind. A newspaper must give an accurate report of facts and a fair interpretation of problems to interest the public. As soon as the newspapers became independent after the Japan-China War, their circulation began to increase, and with it the extent and growth of public opinion. In the prejournalistic period, i.e. the period before the Restoration of 1868, public opinion in Japan was limited to the officials and educated *samurai* class. Public opinion after 1868 and until 1895 was formed by politicians and well-educated upper classes, both of whom together numbered only a few million. But, after 1895, due to the rise of independent journals with their enormous increase in circulation, that portion of the population which participated in the formation of public opinion was extended far down to the middle class; and, consequently, became much more active in the control of public affairs than it had been.

On the one hand the Japan-China War brought to the people a consciousness of the fact that they themselves were the motor power of national life; they knew they had fought China by sacrificing their blood and their money, and that the war was not won either by the government or the authorities alone. The masses became more and more informed as to public affairs, and more and more able to form

opinions regarding them. This was a step farther toward the growth of democracy. The political incidents presented in this chapter will show how these changes came about.

The Sho-Wai Cabinet (Matsukata and Okuma Cabinet) which succeeded the Ito Cabinet proclaimed its administrative policy on September 18, 1896, and pledged itself to secure the constitutional guaranty of freedom of discussion, of assemblage, and of association. The public rejoiced at this popular administrative policy of the new ministry, and looked forward to great progress in liberalism in Japan. But soon a blunder was made by the government.

The *Twenty-sixth Century*, a political magazine, exposed some dark transactions which took place between the Minister of the Imperial Household Hijikata and former Premier Ito. Ito had already been accused of using the Emperor's name and Privy Seal in politics, and the report spread through the *Nippon* and other Tokyo newspapers. Hijikata and Ito used every craft and influence they possessed to check the dangerous agitation against them. They stirred up jingoes and fanatic imperialists in their behalf on the ground that such a publication was an infringement of the inviolable dignity of the imperial family, and should have been dealt with accordingly. Lèse majesté is, indeed, an indisputable crime in the mind of the majority of the Japanese people. The people, who were long trained to the idea of divine sacredness of the monarch, were most readily aroused. Attacks on the government grew so serious that it became necessary to suppress the publication of the *Twenty-sixth Century*, *Nippon*, and all other papers which had reprinted the articles. Thus the new government, pledged to permit freedom of discussion, had to break its newly formed precedent.

This mishap precipitated a better turn in the development of Japanese journalism. The government itself now presented a bill for the revision of the Press Law in the tenth session of the Diet. This time the pressure of public opinion so strongly manifested itself that the bill was easily passed not only by the Lower House but by the Upper House, which had customarily rejected it. The power to suspend newspaper publications was transferred from the Administrative to the Judicial Department. The former retains the power to prohibit (not to suspend) publication

in limited cases only. This power of suspension was one of the mightiest political weapons the clan government possessed for prolonging its own existence. Its statesmen, therefore, opposed the abolition of their power, and the House of Peers, which was controlled by members of the Cabinet and elder statesmen, were also opposed to the freedom of the press. Now Okuma, however, the principal figure of the new cabinet, and the strongest opponent of the clan government, willingly approved the revision; and a step toward democracy was made.

Okuma found opposition to his liberal ideas in the Sho-Wai Cabinet. The Satsuma Clan which was accustomed to rule with an iron hand made up the majority of the ministry. The democratic policy which was proclaimed at the beginning of the administration was due solely to Okuma. Occasional conflicts between him and the other members of the Cabinet were inevitable, but these grew more and more serious until they culminated in his resignation. Then the Progressive party, of which Okuma was the leader, severed relations with the government, and many officials who were Okuma's adherents resigned their posts. Even the Kokumin Kyokai (Nationalists' League), hitherto a semi-government party, began to attack the clan statesmen's despotic policies.

The United Journalists' Association then called a great meeting and issued a manifesto to assemble their sympathizers. To this almost all the influential journalists of the country at once responded, and both newspapers and periodicals began a ferocious attack upon the government. The meeting of the United Journalists' Association passed the following resolution:

> We consider that the practices of the present government violate the principle and the spirit of the Constitution, and therefore we wish to compel it to resign by our strongly united oppositions. Furthermore, in order to maintain clean politics among the statesmen we shall vigorously attack all the "backsliders" of the Diet, and thus expect to make social control clear and effective.

Until this time the so-called journalists' associations had always been more or less tinted with partisan colors, but on this occasion large numbers of strictly non-partisan presses joined the movement and aided the formation of a strong public opinion. In the House of Representa-

tives a non-confidence resolution was introduced and would have been passed by an overwhelming majority, when an imperial command to dissolve the Diet reached the Assembly Hall. The government now lost a large number of its supporters for the coming election, and the entire Cabinet resigned soon after the dissolution of the Diet. Thus the strength of the press and the power of the masses in political affairs were distinctly proved.

It had only been one and a half years since the League of Three European States forced Japan to return Liaotung Peninsula to China in order to "secure future peace in the Far East." These three states had been eagerly planning the exploitation of China. In the fall of 1897 two German missionaries were killed by a mob in Shantung province. Taking this opportunity, Germany dispatched a fleet to occupy Kiao-chau. She forced China to pay a large indemnity and to give her Kiao-chau for ninety-nine years together with the additional right of establishing railroads and of operating mines in the entire province of Shantung. In December of the same year Russia also dispatched a fleet without any cause and occupied Port Arthur and Talien. She obtained control of Liaotung Peninsula for the next twenty-five years and also other railroad and mining concessions in Manchuria on exactly the same terms as those of Germany. To check this Russian invasion, England obtained a similar concession at Weihaiwei. France, the last of the Three States' League, did not hesitate to get a lion's share, and she obtained a concession of Kwanchu Bay for twenty-five years including railroad and mining rights in Southern China. Thus the Liaotung Peninsula became Russian territory.

The people of Japan were furious with indignation, but the government made no protest against the Western invaders. Political parties and journalists began an attack on the grounds of the inefficient diplomacy of the government, and even Jiyuto, then a semi-government party and the largest one among all the parties, refused its further support. The government bill to increase taxes was unanimously defeated in the House of Representatives. The tax-increase bill was the most important of this session, for the government had many post-war expenditures to settle. Premier Ito made a fiery speech in the Assembly Hall for the

budget, pledging himself to take every responsibility in the matter. In spite of all his efforts the government party was defeated in the House, without hope for further compromise. The customary imperial command was then served and the Diet was dissolved on June 10, 1898. National indignation against European invaders was now so strong that this high-handed measure of the government was simply adding fuel to the fire. The situation became uncontrollable. The Liberals, which had always been a government party, and the Progressives, its strongest opponent, agreed to co-operate in exterminating the clan's foothold in state affairs. Twelve days after the dissolution of the Diet, they united and organized the Kenseito (Constitutional party), a formidable new party, of which Marquis Okuma, the Progressive champion, and Count Itagaki, the Liberal leader, became the central figures. A determined fight against the clan government which had ignored public opinion began.

Premier Ito tried to organize a clan party, but he was vigorously opposed by all the elder statesmen, namely, Yamagata, Saigo (brother of the Great Saigo), Oyama, Kuroda, and Inouye, all of whom believed that to found a government on a party basis was against the national constitution of Japan. Yamagata became Ito's bitterest opponent. Ito lost his courage, and the entire Cabinet resigned on June 25, 1898.

It had always been customary for the Premier to recommend to the Throne a clan statesman as his successor. Ito, however, boldly broke this precedent, because he knew that if a clan man were chosen at that time it would be Yamagata. He therefore recommended Okuma and Itagaki, the two most prominent Liberal leaders, by whose opposition he was obliged to resign. Ashamed and discouraged, Prince Ito begged the Emperor to return his title of nobility and other orders of merit and honors, and became a strong advocate of party government.

The successor of the Ito Ministry was the First Okuma Cabinet with Okuma as Premier and Foreign Minister, and Itagaki as Minister of the Interior. It was organized January 30, 1898. This was the first government which was not established under the clan influence. The public welcomed the new government with enthusiasm and hope. But unfortunately the two factions of the old Liberals and Progressives, who

had recently united, began to dispute about the distribution of cabinet chairs among them. A split appeared in the new party and the party government ended with a sad experience after only five months. This factional strife gave the best opportunity to clan statesmen to regain their influence, and the Second Yamagata Cabinet came into existence. The buds of the democratic form of government thus were trampled to pieces before they had opened. Yamagata had greatly feared the entrance of the party element into the government. He is a sincere, hard-headed, conservative military man (he is Marshal) and holds dogmatic views in favor of a pure bureaucracy.

The Second Yamagata Cabinet promulgated a civil-service act by an imperial ordinance to keep party men from getting into office through "pull." As long as Yamagata was premier no party men were to be admitted to the Cabinet. Just about this time Ito, who recently had been converted to the party government, was planning to organize a new party. Ito was always very liberal in his attitude toward outsiders and was therefore not so detested by party men as was Yamagata. Many members of the struggling Kenseito deserted that party and gathered under Ito's new standard, and, with many other elements, organized a large new party, the Seiyukai, September 15, 1900. This was a great blow to the Yamagata Cabinet, because it could not expect to obtain the further support of the Lower House. So Yamagata resigned, and was succeeded by the Fourth Ito Ministry in October of that year.

While the Second Yamagata Cabinet was still in power, Toru Hoshi, a member of the old Kenseito party, who had been in America making a careful observation of the methods of Tammany Hall, and had become convinced of its efficiency, began to work out that system, especially that of the "Tweed Ring," in Japan. The first experiment was made in the municipal governments of Tokyo, Yokohama, and Hakodate. It worked wonderfully well and soon sinister transactions between party politicians and large business interests became a common practice all over the country in both national and local politics. The cry of political corruption was raised loudly among the reformers. But the Yamagata government ignored these evil practices, because, though its premier was anti-party, it wanted the support of the great Kenseito, of which

Hoshi was a leader. Thus in the thirteenth session of the Diet the Yamagata government succeeded in getting its large budget passed, which all the previous cabinets had failed to do.

On the other hand, however, Hoshi got control of the municipal government of Tokyo; and from the mayor down to the petty clerks the city hall was filled with his party denizens, and bribe-taking, fraud, misappropriation, conspiracy with business interests, and all sorts of intrigues were freely committed. Many corruptions were exposed, and the attacks by newspapers and reformers grew violent. At this time the Yamagata Cabinet resigned, and Hoshi, having joined the Seiyukai, became Minister of Communication of the new Ito Cabinet. Now public denunciation against Hoshi grew so strong that one hundred members of the House of Peers jointly requested Ito to dismiss Hoshi from office. It is said that when Ito requested him to resign, Hoshi, who previously had established a reputation by refusing to resign the speakership, again refused to do so until he had obtained Ito's secret promise not to prosecute him. Whether this charge is true or not, he was not prosecuted, and becoming a member of the city council of Tokyo he kept his "Tammany Hall" machine effectively working with a gang of Seiyukai partisans. The attacks on him by political opponents, newspapers, and reformers grew more bitter every day, and everyone lamented the degeneration in political morality.

On June 21, 1902, Hoshi was stabbed to death with a dagger by Sotaro Iba, a scholar and a celebrated swordsman, who sacrificed himself to stem the tide of political corruption. Iba was given a life sentence and later died in prison. It is generally believed that the attacks against Hoshi and his associates made by the serial articles of Saburo Shimada, then the editor of the *Mainichi Shimbun*, was the direct cause of this assassination. At any rate it was clearly the power of the newspaper that precipitated the fall of Hoshi and his confederates at that time. This incident had a disciplinary effect upon Hoshi's party men and the Japanese "Tammany Hall."

The Ito Cabinet, of which Hoshi was Minister of Communication, lost the confidence of the public through its laxness in discipline and unrestrained play of partisan politics by the members of the Seiyukai.

The Cabinet provoked the strong opposition of the House of Peers, and on May 5, 1901, it was obliged to resign, and the First Katsura Ministry was organized as its successor.

Since the occupation of Liaotung Peninsula, the Russian invasion both in China and Korea became more and more aggressive in violation of treaties and agreements. Russia was recklessly extending her military power into the Far East. At this period the principal aim of Japan was merely to make Korea the neutral zone between the two states, Japan and Russia, not to annex it. Japan realized the danger to her national existence in the Russian aggression. The latter had been a constant intruder upon her rights since the latter part of the eighteenth century; a part of her former territories in the north had been snatched away while she was busy with internal strifes; and in addition she had been deprived of Liaotung Peninsula, the fruits of the Japan-China War. The Japanese people, with these facts in mind, were keeping suspicious eyes upon Russia's movements. It became apparent that the monstrous Northern Bear would be ferociously raving on their own land at any moment. It was indeed a matter of life and death. Furthermore, they thought that they should have preferential rights over Korea. They had freed her from Chinese domination, under which she had stood for the past several hundred years.

A strong Russian army occupied Korea, and the size of her expeditionary force was increased. All protests made by Japan and several other states were ignored, and it seemed as though Japan did not exist in the Russian mind. The indignation of the Japanese people grew intense. Seven prominent professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo issued a manifesto advocating war against Russia. The Citizens' Union was organized with Prince Konoe, the Speaker of the House of Peers, as its president, and announced that a declaration of war against Russia should not be delayed one moment. The Anti-Russian People's League was established and co-operated with all other similar organizations. Newspapers and magazines, with the exception of the government organs, vigorously propagated a war spirit. Every day many mass meetings were held and resolutions were passed requesting the government to declare war at once. The whole country was filled with

a loud clamor for war. Amidst this public excitement the government maintained a calm and unconcerned attitude. The Russian government began to make various demonstrations for the purpose of intimidating Japan. Negotiation after negotiation met with the most supercilious replies from Russia. Representatives of many patriotic organizations and members of the Diet called at Premier Katsura's office to induce him to take the final step.

Both the Seiyukai and the Kenseihonto, the two largest political parties at that time, agreed to stand firmly together to impeach the government on this diplomatic problem in the approaching Diet. The whole atmosphere of the country became extremely tense. The nineteenth session of the Imperial Diet was convoked on December 5, 1903. Its opening ceremony was held and the customary imperial message was read to the House. Then the Chief Secretary of the House of Representatives gave two copies of the reply to the Throne to Speaker Kono. Instead of reading those copies, however, Kono pulled out a draft, prepared by himself, from his pocket, and read it aloud to the House. This was an extraordinary incident. The time-honored practice of the House was that the Speaker should read the draft which was made by the Chief Secretary, and make a reply which was merely a ceremonial address to His Majesty. Kono's draft was as follows:

> We are honored with Your Majesty's gracious message which you have so kindly given us with your presence; and now you grant us the opportunity to hold this grand ceremony of the opening of the nineteenth session of the Diet. We have been deeply moved by Your Majesty's grace.
>
> In this time of unprecedented national uprising, the administration of our Cabinet Ministers does not please the national demand of the time. Internal policies are simply based on temporary remedial works, and opportunities are being missed in foreign diplomacy. We cannot help feeling the utmost anxiety for such misgovernment by our administration; and therefore we appeal to Your Majesty's wise judgment.
>
> We, the members of the House of Representatives, who are entrusted with the duty of assisting Your Majesty's state affairs, expect to be true to your gracious will above and the trust of the people below.
>
> Your humble subject Hironaka Kono, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, most respectfully presents this reply to Your Majesty.

This was apparently an impeachment of the government instead of a ceremonial address. The House immediately passed it by a unanimous vote amidst deafening handclappings. Kono was at once ready to leave the Diet building to present this reply to the Emperor; but just before he started, an imperial message commanding the House to postpone his visit to the palace, was served. Not being discouraged by this reverse, Kono planned to present the address through the hands of the Minister of the Imperial Household, but this second attempt was blocked by the imperial message to dissolve the Diet. Thus the Nineteenth Diet was closed before any discussion was started. Kono was in an embarrassing situation now, and in order to center the responsibility on himself he left his party, confined himself to his home, and took no part in politics for several years.

Although the Imperial Diet was thus forcibly silenced the attitude of the public grew more intense, and memorial after memorial poured into the Imperial Court from political parties and various organizations. Even the women and the children could see the outcome. Public sentiment was in mad fury against Russia. Unusual activities in authoritative circles became apparent: meetings of the elder statesmen; frequent calls of the cabinet members at the imperial palace; special meetings of the privy councils and of high military officials; issue of an emergency imperial ordinance to meet the extraordinary disbursements for railroad and military expenditures; the ministerial order to put all newspapers and periodicals under military censorship, etc. Everything clearly indicated that the government which had kept so cool and aloof was preparing for war. Russia still disregarded the activities in Japan. She believed if little Japan should ever appeal to force of arms, the matter could be easily settled in a few months.

When the note sent by the Japanese government to Russia, requesting the withdrawal of the Russian force in Korea, was left unanswered for twenty-three days, in spite of four pressing requests made for a reply during that time, the foreign department notified Russia of the break of diplomatic relations, and three days after began a naval attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur.

The greatest mistake made by Russia was in utterly disregarding and miscalculating the influence of public opinion in Japan and in judging the whole matter simply by the cautious diplomacy of the government. Although the government was based upon bureaucratic principles the power of public opinion in Japan at this time had made such great progress that, once aroused, the government could not withstand its pressure.

The war having started, internal dispute completely disappeared just as at the time of the Japan-China War. There was co-operation among all factions in the state with two exceptions: the Russian spy case and the case of France's violation of neutrality.

During the war general elections were held most peacefully, and the twentieth session of the Diet ended with but one dispute—the spy problem. Teisuke Akiyama, a prominent member of the House of Representatives, was suspected of being a Russian spy, because the *Niroku*, of which he was the editor, published an article regarding the conclusion of a "Russo-Japanese treaty" which did not exist. No other Japanese or foreign newspaper had obtained any information of such a treaty except the pro-Russian Chinese newspapers published in Peking, which had published the same news on the same day as that of the *Niroku*. The *Niroku* had also attacked the government because of the new war loan with an editorial entitled "Impeach Our Government," stating that such a loan policy would simply incite cheap chauvinism. After a special House investigation, however, no evidence against Akiyama was discovered, but he was asked to resign from the House. This was a rather conspicuous case because Akiyama was considered one of the most prominent journalists and statesmen of the country. He was held in suspicion for some time after.

The second case was the violation of neutrality by France. The Russian Baltic fleet on its way to Asia was given harbor at various French ports for a much longer period than twenty-four hours, which is the maximum limit recognized by international law. Regardless of the urgent requests repeatedly made to France by the Japanese government to observe her neutrality obligation more strictly, the French government permitted the Russian fleet to remain in her African and Asiatic

colonial ports for two or three weeks at a time and gave it all sorts of conveniences which are against international law. The people of Japan naturally were indignant, and in the twenty-first session of the Diet the two largest political parties, the Kenseihonto and the Seiyukai, passed a resolution requesting the government to break diplomatic relations with France and to ask Great Britain, then Japan's ally, to come to her aid according to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. The situation was growing serious when a satisfactory reply was given by France, and the crisis was passed.

The Katsura Cabinet survived a stormy five years' administration. Its irresolute diplomatic attitude toward Russia invited the attack of all political parties and the general public. But, when war was once declared, and news of victories continued, the prestige and popularity of the government increased day by day. Then adverse news of the peace negotiations in Portsmouth began to reach home, and the newspapers at once began agitations against the conclusion of an early peace. On September 5, 1905, the day on which the peace treaty was signed at Portsmouth, a great mass meeting was called at Hibiya Park, Tokyo; and before the time set for the meeting an enormous number of people had gathered, waving in the air banners with various inscriptions. The Metropolitan Police Board had built stockades at all the entrances of the park to keep the crowd from entering, but several members of the city council of Toyko forced the police away and, climbing over the stockade, opened one of the gates. The park was at once flooded with the crowd. Propaganda speeches were made by many agitators, and the mob was aroused to a furious mood.

After the meeting at Hibiya Park had been closed, the same crowd marched to the Shintomiza theater to participate in another mass meeting. This was again checked by the police force after a sharp conflict. The people now became riotous. They attacked and did great damage to the building of the *Kokumin Shimbun* (*Nationalists' News*), a government organ, after an encounter with the police. The rioting spread all over the city. The building of the Department of the Interior was set afire, and other government buildings were in danger of destruction. A bloody conflict between the police and the rioters

continued. The Imperial Guard Infantry was at last dispatched to guard all the government buildings and mansions of the state ministers. When the darkness of night came, the rioters marched through the streets with missiles, clubs, and naked swords, and the police stations were systematically attacked and burned down one after another all through the night. The whole city of Tokyo became illuminated with the reflection of the fires. The size of the mob so enormously increased that neither police nor soldiers could control them, and this chaotic condition lasted two days.

Martial law was at last proclaimed, and rigid censorship was put on all newspapers and periodicals, prohibiting them from publishing any articles dangerous to the situation. These rules remained in force for three months. One hundred and forty-one police stations and substations, ten churches, and twenty-eight other buildings had been burned down. There were 558 casualties on the side of the people and 471 among the officers. A few days after this incident, both the Minister of the Interior and the Superintendent-General of the Police resigned, assuming personal responsibility for their failure to keep order in the capital.

Before the conclusion of peace, Dr. Kanjin Tomizu, professor of Roman Law at the Tokyo Imperial University, gave a vigorous dissertation on the terms of peace and the weak diplomacy of the government. Thereupon the Minister of Education, Kubota, issued an order to university professors that, since they had such great influence upon the public, no discussion should be held by them imprudently. Dr. Tomizu, however, in utter disregard, continued his public discussions more vigorously than before. On August 24 Minister Kubota expelled him from the university. This official action provoked the indignation of all the professors of the College of Law, and with joint signatures they presented a protest against the minister, requesting an immediate restoration of Dr. Tomizu's office. When this request was refused, Dr. Kenjiro Yamakawa, president of the Imperial University, resigned himself, and hired Dr. Tomizu as a special lecturer of the law school at his own discretion. M. Matsui was appointed by the government as the successor of Yamakawa. In protest to this official measure all the professors of the law school unanimously presented petitions for their

resignations. This action was approved by the faculties of the Kyoto Imperial University. General attacks by the intellectuals against the government's control of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of discussion grew very bitter. The independence and dignity of the highest learning of the state were being trampled by layman officials. Both the newly appointed president of the university and the Minister of Education resigned their offices, and the trouble was ended. A little later, when the Katsura Ministry fell, Dr. Tomizu again resumed his chair in the law school, and moreover was elected to the House of Representatives.

The conclusion of peace on unpopular terms and the subsequent rioting put the Katsura Ministry into a very difficult situation. The combined attacks of political parties and newspapers made its further existence impossible. The sympathy of the public had entirely disappeared. The Cabinet resigned on January 7, 1906, just before the opening of the spring session of the Diet, in which it was destined to be sharply censured. The First Saionji Cabinet was organized as its successor.

During this period, due to the increase of newspaper circulation, public opinion, which had heretofore been an expression only of the upper classes, was extended far down into the middle classes. On the other hand, however, as a result of the Japan-China War, nationalism, which had been growing steadily, became more intensified and began to take the form of an imperialistic nationalism, a trend that was predominating in the world at that time. The result was the Russo-Japanese War. This war was not due to the minority opinion of the dominating militaristic class, but to the strong public opinion created through the press. The nation as a whole was strongly unified during that international strife.

CHAPTER XII

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF THE MASSES

Great wars have generally marked new epochs in the political trend of modern Japan. The civil war of the Restoration of 1868 marked the transition from feudalism to the centralized empire; Saigo's civil war of 1877 showed the value of public discussion and co-operation in politics as opposed to force; the Japan-China War of 1894–95 was a landmark between the age in which only the upper classes participated in the formation of public opinion and the age in which the middle class began to exercise an influence; after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 the sphere of political activity was extended to include a great majority of the lower classes; and finally the Great War brought to the public a consciousness of the significance of liberty and equality of individuals as well as of nations and states. In the development of each of these new epochs the development of the means of communication, especially those by speech and publicity, played a great rôle. The number of people who participated, therefore, either directly or indirectly, in public affairs, increased year by year. Due to the rise of independent newspapers and the increased size of the reading public after the Japan-China War, the awakening of the masses regarding public affairs was remarkable. It was the Russo-Japanese War, however, that brought the lower classes to realization. Impelled by the general education and increase of wealth among all classes about this time, and stimulated by the war news, the lower class began to read the newspapers. The result was a general political awakening of the masses, and a decline in the power of clan statesmen, militarists, and bureaucrats.

After the Russo-Japanese War the state expense increased enormously. It was to be met by taxation and public loans, but the people had been overtaxed for many years, and a protest against the new tax was raised by business men. A strong anti-tax agitation arose throughout the country, and, to further it, on January 21, 1906, the representa-

tives of a large number of chambers of commerce met in Tokyo and resolved to call a joint meeting of the representatives of all chambers of commerce and industrial and commercial associations of the country. In Old Japan business men had ranked at the bottom of the social scale, and had no right to take part in politics. Although their social position had been made equal to that of other classes by the Restoration of Meiji, such initiative on their part was wholly unprecedented and was indicative of the general awakening of the people.

Surprised by this organized opposition, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce K. Matsuoka warned the protesting representatives that such activities were violations of the laws which regulate the chambers of commerce. The agitation grew stronger, however, and had considerable effect upon public opinion. Finally the government, through the Seiyukai, the government party which formed the majority in the Lower House, hastily passed the new taxation bill on February 4, the day just preceding the date set by the business men for their great national meeting. On February 5 the business men's meeting was held in Tokyo, and delegates from three hundred and sixty-five chambers of commerce and business associations unanimously passed the following resolution:

> We believe it to be the most urgent necessity of today that our government shall seek the economic development of the people, who are the foundation of the state, and that by reforming the system of taxation it shall cultivate the strength of the people.
>
> Therefore, we consider the government's policy to raise new taxes at this time is a great hindrance to the development of national fortune and an injury to national industry. We resolve that no person who acts contrary to this above-stated opinion shall be elected hereafter to the House of Representatives.

In the following election the activities of the business men proved effective, and about fifty of their candidates were elected. Although the government party still held a plurality in the House, financial difficulties forced the First Saionji Cabinet to resign July, 1908. It was succeeded by the Second Katsura Ministry.

The Second Katsura Cabinet, by skilful adjustment of national finances and clever maneuvering of the political parties, though it was a

bureaucratic cabinet, survived a comparatively uneventful life of four years. In the general election of 1908 the Seiyukai secured, for the first time in the history of party politics in Japan, a majority in the House. Party politicians were tired of the stormy sessions and dissolutions of the House, which had been almost a customary method in the parliamentary practice of Japan; and therefore when Premier Katsura offered an opportunity of forming an *entente*, the Seiyukai, the majority party, gladly accepted it. The other minor parties, of course, could have no effect upon the general situation of the House. Everyone, however, soon grew weary of such artificial tranquillity, and the Second Saionji Ministry succeeded the Katsura Cabinet in August, 1911.

Marquis Saionji, contrary to his predecessor, tried to comply with the popular request for lighter taxes. The military element, however, insisted on the necessity for an improved national defense which called for an enormous expenditure. The Minister of War strongly opposed the Premier's financial policy, and the latter could not carry out his plan. He resigned in December, 1913, and Prince Katsura succeeded him for the third term of his premiership.

The great expense of the Russo-Japanese War put a very heavy burden upon the people of Japan, because no indemnity was obtained from Russia as had been anticipated. On the other hand, national industry was not growing rapidly enough to make up the war-time deficiencies. The people began to cry for tax reduction, asking the government to give them a better opportunity for industrial and commercial development, instead of constantly increasing the military strength, for which no immediate necessity could be seen.

Prince Katsura, the premier of the new cabinet, was a bureaucratic statesman and a general in the army. His sympathies were naturally with the military party. At that time he was also the Grand Chamberlain and the Keeper of the Privy Seal and was suspected of using the imperial tutorage in the play of politics. This suspicion was intensified each time he forced the support of the Diet with the imperial command. His political opponents and the majority of the newspapers aroused agitations among the people, who were at last sure that Katsura and the elder statesmen were making use of the Emperor's name in working out

their autocratic politics. In the thirtieth session of the Diet, Yukio Ozaki introduced a non-confidence resolution, which was passed by a great majority in spite of the imperial message advising the House to co-operate with the Cabinet. The opposing representatives in the House were assaulted by an excited crowd when they came out of the Diet. The more imperial orders were issued, the stronger the antagonism of the House and the excitement of the public grew, because it was firmly believed that the young emperor was being deceived by Premier Katsura's smooth tongue. Katsura was accused of "wantonly issuing the imperial command and diminishing the imperial dignity thereby."

Both the Diet and the newspapers strongly requested the immediate resignation of the Katsura Ministry. When it did not promptly comply with that popular request, political riots were started in Tokyo and elsewhere. The following extract from the *Independent* gives a clear view of the riots:

> During the week Japan has seen such riots in her capital and elsewhere as characterized the news of the Treaty of Portsmouth. The opposition not of the Diet only, but of the whole country, forced the resignation of Prince Katsura as premier, with his cabinet. He had persuaded the Emperor to request the Diet to rescind its vote of want of confidence, but this they refused to do. This refusal was, for Japan, a very extraordinary and almost revolutionary act. It indicated that the will of the Cabinet, even supported by the reverence paid to the Emperor, could not be allowed to overthrow the will of the people; that it is the people that rule through their Diet, and not the Emperor nor the oligarchy of elder statesmen.
>
> When Prince Katsura and his cabinet presented their resignation they were actually stoned by a mob in the streets, and the unruly crowd attacked the offices of newspapers which had supported the ministry and attempted to set them on fire. The police and gendarmes drew their swords, and many were wounded and six were killed, and the military was called out to protect the residences of Prince Katsura and his cabinet. The Diet was adjourned for three days, but was not dissolved, as Katsura had desired. (One of his cabinet members strongly opposed the dissolution lest there should be a more serious outcome.)
>
> Peace has been restored by the appointment as premier of Count Yamamoto.[1]

[1] The *Independent*, February 20, 1913, pp. 429–30.

The following is an extract from the *Outlook:*

On the eleventh (February) Prince Katsura was stoned by a mob in the streets, and a few hours later, after a great mass-meeting in Hibiya Park, a crowd of rioters marched to the residence of the premier with the intention of wrecking it. When, after a sharp skirmish, they were driven away by the police, they surrounded the office of the *Kokumin Shimbun*, a newspaper which supported the Ministry, and attempted to set fire to it with bundles of kerosene-saturated straw. The employees of the paper defended themselves with firearms, and in the fighting that ensued two men were killed and a score or more were seriously wounded. Anti-government rioting soon became general, and resulted in the wrecking of police stations and the burning of street cars in various parts of the city. Troops were then called out; strong guards were placed around the houses of ministers and the offices of newspapers that supported the Katsura administration; and the Minister of the Imperial Household gave notice that, unless the disorder ceased, the Emperor would proclaim martial law. These repressive measures, together with the severely cold weather that happened to prevail, finally compelled the rioters, at a late hour of the night, to seek shelter. In the course of the day's fighting six men are said to have been killed and fifty or sixty wounded. The only other city in which political disturbances occurred was Osaka, where also the offices of government newspapers were attacked by mobs. As a result of these political demonstrations, and of the pressure brought to bear upon the government, Prince Katsura resigned, and Count Gombei Yamamoto was directed by the Emperor to form a new ministry.[1]

Through this bitter experience, Prince Katsura, hitherto a militarist and a strong bureaucrat, learned a new lesson in his defeat by two large political parties, just as Prince Ito had. Soon after his resignation in February, 1913, Katsura began to spread propaganda for a new constitutional political party which would place the government on a liberal basis. In the same month, at the last hour of his life, he succeeded in organizing the Doshikai (League of the Similarly Minded) party, which was later changed to the Kenseikai, one of the two largest political parties in Japan today. Although he discovered his mistaken idea of politics too late in life, Katsura was an honest and sincere military man; and his mistakes were committed unconsciously in spite of his intention to

[1] The *Outlook*, February 22, 1913, pp. 376–77.

serve his country to a better end. Perhaps due to his excessive activity in political affairs, his health was seriously affected, and soon after the establishment of the Doshikai he died.

As to the rôle of newspapers in political affairs, the following article of the *Literary Digest* gives us an interesting account:

> Consideration of the present turmoil in Japan (political riot under the Katsura Ministry) cannot proceed far without appreciation of the dawn of a new era in journalism. Organs of the old régime have been made to suffer at the hands of irate citizens, and the penalties attaching to subserviency have been made apparent. On the other hand, independent criticism of men and of parties never has flourished so vigorously and with so little regard for possible penal consequences. Even tho a conservative reaction were to follow after the recent unprecedented outburst of popular independence, it is not probable that conditions of censorship ever again will be as they were prior to recent epoch-making events. Public sentiment and opinion long suppressed having at last found vent, they will not submit to a return to a program of secrecy, either in domestic affairs or in foreign policy. Thus the outer world may be permitted to know much more about Japanese history than even foreigners have been permitted to tell of late years.[1]

After this political disturbance, the circulation of newspapers in Japan was increased 20 per cent, that is, 10 per cent less than the rate of increase at the time of the Russo-Japanese War.

Under the Yamamoto Cabinet, the successor of the Katsura Ministry, another sensational incident happened, and the power of the press and of public opinion was again well tested. This incident is called the "naval scandal case" or the "Siemens case." It happened in the spring of 1914. At that time the journalists had aroused public opinion so strongly against the government that the latter was at last destroyed, and Premier Count Yamamoto, the most influential personage in the naval circle and of the Satsuma Clan, was obliged to retire to a secluded life.

Karl Richter, an employee of the Siemens & Schucket Company, stole the letters relating to briberies paid by that company to certain Japanese naval officials, and blackmailed the company for 25,000 yen. The latter refused to pay it. Then Richter, after making photographic

[1] The *Literary Digest*, March 1, 1913, p. 491.

copies of the letters, sold the originals to Andrew M. Pooley, a Reuter's agent in Yokohama, for 750 yen, and left for Germany. Hearing that Pooley was going to make the stolen letters public at Shanghai, the Siemens Company asked for the official aid of the naval department. Mr. Saito, the Minister of the Navy, refused it, saying that he wished the letters to be published because he believed there was no such infamous officers in his department. He also reported the case to the Metropolitan Police Department. Later Richter was caught in Berlin, and his conviction telegraphed back to Japan. A full explanation of the case by the state ministers was requested by the Imperial Diet; and after a close investigation by both the judicial department and a special investigating committee, four officials in the naval department were convicted.

This incident was a shock to the people of Japan, who could not imagine such things of their officers whom they considered unselfish patriots. Therefore a strong political agitation was started, and various mass meetings were held in Tokyo to arouse public opinion against the cabinet authorities. In the Imperial Diet the anti-government parties made a joint attack. From early morning of the day on which the non-confidence resolution was voted in the House, the excited crowd held a mass meeting in Hibiya Park, which is adjacent to the Assembly Hall; and after passing the resolution, "Our nation requests the House of Representatives to impeach the Cabinet," they marched out of the park, and, surrounding the Diet building, made a vigorous demonstration to encourage the anti-government parties, who had been fighting all day. The impeachment bill was defeated by a plurality of forty-one votes, however, because the Seiyukai, the government party, formed a majority in the House.

Hearing of the defeat of the bill, the crowd outside the Diet building grew dangerous. A battalion of armed soldiers and several hundred policemen were called at once, and the mob was subdued only after the steel gate of the Diet building had been wrecked. They marched from there to attack the buildings of the *Chu-o* and the *Mainichi*, organs of the government party, but this attempt and each subsequent one were checked by the strong government guard.

The riot was now temporarily suppressed. At the first attempt on the building of the *Chu-o*, Hashimoto, a reporter of the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*, had been sabered by the police force while he was observing the progress of the riot. This incident aroused the indignation of his fellow-journalists. Although Hashimoto was in a hospital with a gash on his head, the Metropolitan Police Board denied any violence committed by their men. The representatives of all metropolitan newspapers and the news-gathering agencies, except three government organs—*Chu-o*, *Tokyo Mainichi*, and *Tokyo Maiyu*—met at Seiyo-ken on February 14 and agreed on the following resolution:

> The fact that the police force have wounded an innocent reporter by their violent conduct endangers the mission of the journalists. Therefore we request the Minister of the Interior, who is officially responsible for this incident, to express an apology in the form of a written letter.

On February 16 twelve delegates, headed by Shuroku Kuroiwa, called on Mr. Hara, Minister of the Interior, and requested an apology. The latter refused an immediate reply, saying that there was some doubt as to the police violence according to the report of the police board; and that if it were true, he, the Minister of the Interior, was not responsible. The delegates extended the time limit for his reply until the next day, and at the time stated Mr. Oka, the director of the police bureau, came to the office of the *Yorozu* with the report that the Minister of the Interior sympathized with the injured reporter. Kuroiwa and Matsuyama, the representatives of the journalists' association, however, denounced the letter he brought as unsatisfactory. On February 18 the representatives of all the newspapers and news-gathering agencies held another meeting, and passed the following resolution:

> It is atrocious that the Minister of the Interior avoided making a clear apology as a responsible person concerning the outrages committed by the police force. As to the fact that a reporter of the *Tokyo Asahi* was wounded by his gate guards outside of his mansion, the minister concealed the facts and refused the responsibility. Therefore, we consider it proper to make him resign his office. We resolve that we shall resort to any means to accomplish this end; and shall hold a great conference of the delegates of all journals of the country on February 23; shall hold great mass-meetings; and also hold a

special conference of the representatives of all associations, groups, and factions in order to present a memorial to the Emperor in impeachment of the Minister of the Interior.

At the journalists' conference a resolution was passed to impeach Hara. Spirited speeches were made by the representatives of newspapers, news-gathering agencies, magazines, and political parties. At the same time similar conferences and mass meetings were held in Osaka and Nagoya; and all the newspapers and periodicals of the country, with the exception of a few government organs, violently attacked Hara. The anti-government parties introduced an impeachment bill against Hara, but after a long and exciting debate it was defeated, because the Seiyukai, of which Hara was a leader, had a majority in the House.

Consequently the National Journalists' conference, as a last resort, presented the following petition to the Emperor:

On the fourth day of the third year of Taisho, Shuroku Kuroiwa and others, your obedient subjects, most respectfully present this petition to Your Majesty Our Emperor, wise and glorious in all civil and military affairs.

Your Majesty, having succeeded the great works of the late emperor, we most industriously look for a better government and are deeply moved by Your Majesty's gracious deeds. But, observing that the high officials, who are in your assistance, have grossly mismanaged their duties, we are very much afraid that some unforeseen calamity is likely to fall upon our nation in the near future. Therefore, we appeal now to Your Majesty.

Since the naval scandal case became known to the public by the written sentence passed on Karl Richter by the name of the Emperor of Germany in a court of justice at Berlin, our nation expected to see the resignation of Count Gombei Yamamoto, our Prime Minister, and thus to make his responsibility clear to the public, because they feared that Your Majesty's navy may lose its dignity both at home and abroad and thereby injure the honor of our empire. Moreover, in our nation there are some who consider Gombei himself the ringleader of the corrupt politicians, and their suspicions fall upon the sources of the accumulated personal wealth of Gombei. But the subsequent conduct of Gombei and other members of his Cabinet is entirely beyond popular expectation; not only do they lack the sincerity to clean up the Naval Department, but they even seem to conceal certain existing facts about the case. The House of Representatives is also inclined to assist these official rascals by supporting the Cabinet.

Consequently, the public was aroused and has become extremely excited Then Takashi Hara, the Minister of the Interior, without considering the situation seriously, decided to forcibly suppress the irritated public sentiment by the use of police authority; and the result was that some policemen drew their swords and sabered innocent people and wounded a reporter who was on the way to his professional duty of making an observation of the incident. Some plain-clothed detectives had mingled with the crowd and incited them purposely with radical speeches, thus turning the innocent children of Your Majesty into a violent and unruly mob. Then Your Majesty's army was imprudently used for the suppression of the disturbances. In one night the indiscriminate arrests of 430 pedestrians were made in the city of Tokyo, and 410 of those arrested were released in a few days because no grounds for their indictment could be found. Lastly, Takashi concealed some bravoes in his mansion and made them assault the reporters who visited his house on professional duty of interviewing him.

The above-stated facts prove that the government authorities regard Your Majesty's children as lightly as the dust, and that they are going to annihilate the spirit of the constitution which the late emperor established. This is what we most fear. We, Your Majesty's subjects, request not only the security of the peaceful pursuit of our profession, but we also demand the maintenance of the great spirit of our constitution. Therefore, we requested the resignation of Takashi. the person officially responsible for these incidents; but he has tried to avoid his responsibility by making impudent explanations, utterly disregarding the sufferings of our good citizens. He lacks any comprehension of the serious fact that he is the person who raised the riot in the imperial capital. We, Your Majesty's subjects, respectfully believe that no high official, whose duty is to assist Your Majesty's state affairs, ever was suspected of such grave misconduct which brings disgrace to his high office as that of Gombei. We have heard of no man who so recklessly violated the fundamental rights of the citizen as Takashi has done.

We are seriously afraid that, through such official misconduct, justice and humanity will lose their foundations and the lofty spirit of Your Majesty's new régime of Taisho will be seriously hampered; that Your August Virtues may be obscured, and that the great undertakings which have been transmitted to You by the late emperor will be kept from their proper development. Respectfully considering the situation, we feel that we can not but be alarmed by the great fear of approaching calamities, which may come if Your Majesty allows Gombei to remain in the highest chair of the Cabinet, and

Takashi in that important office of maintaining the public peace and order, and serve as the Director General of the grand ceremony at the great occasion of Your Majesty's coronation, which is to take place next November.

We, your subjects, most humbly beg that Your August approval be granted us. We tremble ourselves feeling that we have impaired Your Majesty's dignity by presenting this petition to you, and respectfully await your condemnation of our guilt of impropriety.

Most respectfully and sincerely,

Your humble subjects,

(Signed) SHUROKU KUROIWA AND OTHERS

A special committee visited Prince Yamagata, Prince Oyama, and Marquis Matsukata, the elder statesmen, with this petition to the Emperor.

After the presentation of the petition, all non-government newspapers continued their attacks upon the ministers so violently that all the Tokyo papers were punished, and many other periodicals also. The *Nippon* and *Nippon-jin* and the *Shin-Nippon* were twice prohibited from publication. The more vigorous the government's suppression of the freedom of discussion, the more violent became the tone of attacks. All over the country conferences and mass meetings of journalists were held, and hundreds of impeachment resolutions were passed. There was never a time in the history of Japanese journalism when the journalists were so deeply aroused against the government. As a result, even government control in the House of Representatives could not combat the public opinion which had risen up against it.

Encouraged by the rise of the journalists and the general public against the government, the united force of the three anti-government political parties decided to resort to the last measure, and introduced a bill to impeach the government. In the general session of March 23 a most exciting debate took place between the government and anti-government parties upon this impeachment bill. Although the government parties had the majority of seats in the House they were in a very critical situation when an imperial command to adjourn the session was served, and the debate was suspended. Thus the journalists, the popular political parties, and the public worked together to shorten the life of

the Yamamoto Ministry, whose downfall was at last precipitated by the House of Peers.

Relying on the plurality of the Seiyukai, the government party, the cabinet ministers had acted in such utter disregard of public opinion that the hitherto puppet-like House of Peers at last woke up. The speech of T. Murata in the House of Peers is said to be the most high-spirited one ever delivered in the Assembly Hall of that chamber of the Diet. In the presence of all the members of the House and the state ministers Murata spoke as follows:

> Is it not because the nature and the purpose of the budget are ambiguous that the Minister of Finance uses his double and treble tongue in his explanation? The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce has also given us an inconsistent explanation. Such an item as is called "the fund for encouraging industrial development," for instance, may be frankly and properly named "the fund to expand the influence of the Seiyukai" (government party). The fact that our House rejected the budget for naval expansion shows that we do not want to continue the existence of the Yamamoto Ministry, which, relying upon the absolute majority of the government party in the House of Representatives, ignores public opinion and obstinately clings to the chair in spite of the fact that it has seriously impaired our national dignity in the eyes of the world.
>
> Your Excellency, Premier Yamamoto! I doubt if you really possess that sense of honor upon which we set the highest value and significance. Don't you hear the public calling you a traitor and the ringleader of the naval scandal? Furthermore, they are saying loudly that we can find in the prison houses many creatures whose physiognomy resembles yours markedly. Such expressions, I believe, are the greatest insults, and your honor has been injured thereby. Even a humble and ignorant coolie would never forgive others for making such remarks against him. Is there any excuse for a man who keeps silent even in the face of these remarks, if he is called "a kin to cats and dogs" rather than a member of the human family? . . . .

He continued with increasing spirit attacking the Cabinet and finally requested the Premier's immediate resignation. He then presented a letter of resignation, in recognition of his radicalism, and left for his mansion at Kamakura.

The turmoil ended by the entire cabinet presenting their letters of resignation to the emperor. During this political storm, the circulation of newspapers in the country was increased 15 per cent.

Soon after the letter of resignation was presented to the Throne by the Yamamoto Ministry, His Majesty summoned the elder statesmen to his presence and ordered them to scrutinize their successors. Prince Tokugawa was the first choice recommended by the elder statesmen, but he refused to accept the hard rôle of organizing a new cabinet under such a difficult situation. Viscount Kiyoura, the next choice, willingly accepted the imperial command. The most important problem for the successor of the Yamamoto Cabinet was, naturally, the reform of the naval department. Kiyoura had successfully assigned all chairs except the naval department, but he had neither experience nor friends in the naval circle. In Japan the Minister of the Navy is selected from among the admirals and vice-admirals of the Imperial Navy; and therefore if the administrative policy of a new ministry is disapproved by the naval circle, it is hard to secure a promising candidate for Minister of the Navy. Kiyoura at last picked Vice-Admiral T. Kato as the most suitable person for that post; but he refused to accept it because the meager navy budget did not satisfy him. Thereupon Kiyoura was discouraged and gave up hope of organizing the new cabinet.

The lack of a proper personage for the Minister of the Navy was thus the immediate and apparent cause of Kiyoura's failure in his organization of the new ministry. But, in fact, the indirect and deeper cause seems to have been in the unpopularity of Kiyoura himself in journalistic circles and his lack of popular support. The public was tired of clan government, and had lost faith in the purely bureaucratic or so-called "non-party" government. In utter disregard of this change in the popular demand, however, the elder statesmen and Viscount Kiyoura intended to organize a purely non-party ministry. Soon after the imperial command to organize a new cabinet, S. Kuroiwa, G. Matsushita, and S. Otani, representing the United Journalists' Association, had an interview with Kiyoura, and requested him to base the new ministry upon party support, because they believed a purely non-party government could not satisfy the public. He rejected this suggestion, saying that he intended to carry out his own conviction regardless of outside pressure. Thereupon the three delegates of the journalists informed him that there was no other thing for them to do than to vigor-

ously oppose such a government, and from then on the newspapers united in giving an unfavorable impression of his political activities. Moreover, the political parties naturally stood against the formation of such a government. Conferences and mass meetings of the combined forces of party men and journalists were held here and there, and the antagonism spread over the country. Therefore the difficulty in the appointment of the Minister of the Navy was indirectly due to this general unpopularity of the existing ministry. The failure to obtain a sufficient budget for the maintenance of the naval strength was already a strong blow to the naval men. To this now was added the unpopularity of the Cabinet as a whole. It was no wonder then that a cautious person would not accept the chair of the Minister of the Navy under that Cabinet.

It became manifest that the political situation had undergone a radical transformation, and that the power of the press and public opinion had at last got control of national politics to a great extent, so that even the elder statesmen were no more the sanctuary of political institution in Japan.

The elder statesmen were extremely surprised at the failure to organize the Kiyoura Ministry. After a careful scrutiny they failed to find any other clan statesman or other bureaucrat who was sufficiently popular to control the situation, and, discouraged and embarrassed by attempts, they were at last obliged to appeal to Marquis Okuma, who had been isolated from ministerial politics for a long time. Okuma had been recognized as one of the most popular leaders of the nation, and the newspapers almost unanimously indicated their friendly attitude toward him. The public looked upon this great old man as their savior at a critical time. Inspired by this recognition, the man of eighty at last emerged from his long seclusion in Waseda and became the champion of the popular form of government. At that time the *World's Work* remarked about Okuma as follows:

> The senile elder statesmen appear to have lost their arrogance and to have come to realize the truth of the ancient Chinese proverb, "Heaven hears through the ears of the people." At any rate, the two houses of the Diet for the first time in the existence of the harmless body showed some signs of

independence and refused to be dominated by the army and navy. So the Cabinet fell, and Count Okuma, the Bryan of Japan, became premier. Less than a month before his appointment was announced, an issue of his magazine was suppressed by the police bureau for its radical statements on governmental questions. Of course, Okuma will not accomplish very much. The clans and the bureaucrats are entrenched too strongly to be overthrown by any one premier. But his appointment gave the people a taste of power, and it isn't likely that they will forget it.[1]

In the beginning of his administration Okuma made his policy public. He expressed his desire, first of all, to secure the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of discussion, of assemblage, and of association; second, to separate national and local politics and to emancipate the latter from party politics; third, to diminish the burden of the people by a proper tax reform and a new public-loan policy. He made pledges and raised hopes which were all enthusiastically welcomed by the people.

In order to carry out his policy, however, Okuma had too small a number of his supporters in the House of Representatives, the absolute majority still being held by the Seiyukai. The only measure he could take to upset this situation was to dissolve the House and appeal to the public in the coming general election. Consequently, he and his followers waited carefully for their opportunity. In the thirty-fifth session of the Diet a sharp conflict took place between the government and the Seiyukai, and the result was the dissolution of the House of Representatives.

The subsequent general election was an exciting one, because both opponents used all their tactics and resources. On the government side the state ministers broke precedents by traveling about the country themselves making campaign speeches. To distant localities, where they could not go, phonographs with records of Premier Okuma's campaign speeches were distributed. A political association named "The Association to Support Count (now Marquis) Okuma" was organized and took an active part in the election all over the country. Most newspapers indicated their sympathy with the government, consequently creating a public sentiment. Premier Okuma became the idol of the

[1] *World's Work*, May, 1915, pp. 19–20.

people. The result of the vote was a great surprise to both sides, for it disclosed an overwhelming victory for the government parties that neither side had anticipated. The Seiyukai could retain only 108 of their previous 205 seats, while the government parties won 210, a majority in the House.

The victory of the government parties was due, first of all, to the almost unanimous support of the newspapers of the country for the new cabinet and the popular disgust with the Seiyukai party at that time. But it was also due to the government's interference in the election and the general trend of the people to support their government. When this fact was reconfirmed in the general election of April 21, 1917, after the fall of the Okuma Ministry, Marquis Okuma made the following statement in an interview with newspaper reporters:

> The result of the general election was the great victory of the government party and the bitter defeat of its opponents. But, the former should not be proud of this incident, while the latter need not be too discouraged by it. You may remember that several years ago I made the remark on a public occasion that our political situation closely resembles that of Spain, where the government party customarily wins more than two-thirds of the entire vote. We can say that something like this exists in our own situation. The unfair government interference may account for it to a certain extent, but the chief reason is that the political consciousness of our nation is still immature. The people blindly incline to support the governmental side, because they have been accustomed to submission to a strong power in the past.
>
> Such is indeed a sad phenomenon in the constitutional development of the state. Since the political life of a nation is nothing but the reflection of the political ideas of that nation, if we wish to see progress, we must first enlighten the people themselves. . . . . If the nation becomes politically self-conscious and a healthy public opinion is created, all the undesirable phantoms of the political world will soon disappear just as the rising sun clears away nightmares. Well, then, is there any such force which will accomplish the rôle of the rising sun in the social control of our present state? Alas! there is none. But we can only sustain a slight hope in the newspapers. . . . .[1]

The Okuma Cabinet, organized under such circumstances, was naturally popular at the beginning of its administration. Especially

[1] Shigenobu Okuma, the *Tokyo Asahi*, April 24, 1917, p. 2.

did the diplomatic policy of promptly joining the Allies in the Great War, which broke out shortly after its organization, obtain the warm approval of the general public; and the subsequent military and diplomatic activities taken by it unified the nation.

This ministry, however, could not carry out the administrative policies advocated by its premier at the time of its organization, nor fulfil the expectations of the public. It had a sort of coalition cabinet, which was being continually torn by factional elements and prevented from being able to carry out a straightforward policy. Furthermore, Premier Okuma himself did not prove to be a practical statesman, although he was undoubtedly a great idealist and perhaps the most popular leader of public opinion. There was another difficulty with this government. Its strong interference in the last general election was a point of severe criticism and attack by the anti-government party. Later Viscount Oura, the Minister of the Interior, who was responsible for the matter, was obliged to resign. Another time at which the Cabinet was censured was in 1915 in regard to its harsh diplomacy in the treaty negotiations with China. Regardless of the mistakes committed during its administration, however, the Okuma Cabinet always enjoyed the support of the majority of the newspapers. Thus with the help of the press, and also because of the serious international situation connected with the Great War, the Cabinet survived for three years, a long life for a cabinet in Japan. At the end of that time the public tired of its mediocre administration, and the Terauchi Ministry, a reactionary bureaucracy, replaced it.

The Terauchi Ministry, which succeeded the Okuma Cabinet in 1917, was organized on a non-partisan principle, and had a deeply bureaucratic color. Count Terauchi, a marshal of the Imperial Army, is a very conservative type of nationalist, although he is a most sincere and honest statesman; and, like Yamagata, his chief, he possessed a dogmatic antipathy toward political parties. Consequently his cabinet was distinctly reactionary in spite of a few progressive members in it. Moreover, some of his influential lieutenants were very high-handed, and provoked unnecessary disputes with the journalists and their party opponents, arousing their antagonism against the Cabinet.

In spite of the Okuma Cabinet's early declaration of policy, the freedom of the press was strictly suppressed. Regardless of this, however, that ministry succeeded in maintaining a much more harmonious relation with the journalists than its successor. This was due perhaps to the radical difference in character and temperament of the personnel of those two cabinets. Okuma and his followers, whatever their administrative practices, had a conceit that they were of the democratic type of statesmen, and manifested a friendly attitude toward the journalists. Terauchi and his colleagues, on the contrary, believed themselves to be distinguished bureaucrats, who were far superior mentally to ordinary men. The result was a general unpopularity of the Cabinet in journalistic circles, and although it did not commit any more blunders than its predecessor the public held an unfortunate impression of it. The following sections give the general account of the relations which existed between the Terauchi Ministry and the press:

INSTRUCTION BY PREMIER TERAUCHI[1]

The instruction given by Premier Terauchi to the prefectural governors is a very unpromising one. One-half of it is a lecture on an introduction to the study of classical ethics, and the other half is an awkward report of the proceedings of the Imperial Diet. The general impression given in reading this instruction is like that of a second-hand store, especially an unprosperous one, where heaps of valueless junk are scattered about ready to be purchased. This is, of course, extremely disagreeable. For instance, his favorite principle, "thrift and industry," has been most emphatically repeated again and again. But the problem of frugality and luxury belongs to the domain of economics as well as social politics, and is far more complicated than a problem which can be solved by simple and conservative ethical teachings. More than that, Premier Terauchi is making a great mistake in trying to direct the people with such old-fashioned instructions in hopeless ignorance of the changes of the times.

With this type of mind and disposition, our Premier went on in his instruction, and advised the local governors as to "careful guidance of the ideas of the people" and expressed his great fear of the "new ideas which are gradually invading the East as situations change." . . . . Now considering the

[1] This is an editorial of the *Taiyo*, a leading magazine on political matters, which is considered non-partisan.

delicate process of the psychology of the public, we fear that there is more danger in the constitutional ideas of Premier Terauchi himself than in his worry about the so-called "gradual invasion of the strange ideas from the West."[1]

An instruction similar to the Premier's was issued by Foreign Minister Goto, who ordered the local authorities to censor the press more strictly. This brought about a conflict between him and the United Journalists' Association. The following article gives the details of it:

From the trouble started by Chinese students in Japan, we obtained a hint for the first time as to the existence of some military agreement between Japan and China. Without the students' disturbances, we were destined to go on absolutely ignorant of such great national problems. Not only the military agreements with other states were generally passed without being made known to the people, but also the commercial agreements. Nevertheless it is ludicrous to see clever foreigners exposing such secrets greatly exaggerated, utterly disregarding the extreme precautions taken by our authorities. The result is that many misunderstandings as to our diplomacy are caused in foreign states. . . . . In other states, especially in England, our new Foreign Minister is fairly popular. Through Reuter's agency he seems to have announced abroad that there will be no change in our foreign policy, and that the imperial government respects the friendly relations with the Allies to the end, and earnestly desires the Allies' final victory. . . . . This is indeed an inexpensive diplomacy as it is, but we must recognize that even such a formal declaration seems to have had some favorable effects, at least to the extent that it was worth while for the foreign newspapers to publish it. But we the Japanese ourselves have been given no opportunity to learn the reason why the Foreign Minister was changed, nor what the new Minister's foreign policy is. . . . . We are thus entirely ignored by our own authorities in the matter of foreign relations.

We have not only been ignored, but at times have been treated similarly to the most dangerous German spies. The new Foreign Minister Goto, at the occasion of the recent meeting of the prefectural governors, very boldly insulted our loyal citizens. He said, "Since any unfavorable remarks made against our Allies will create directly or indirectly serious injuries upon our foreign relations, you the prefectural authorities are requested to guide the organs of public discussion with more minute and strict care." This instruc-

[1] Koson Asada, the *Taiyo*, June 1, 1918, pp. 14–15.

tion sounds as though there were many people among our citizens who would hold discussions hoping to see some disadvantage come to our friendly Allies. Thus he intends to supervise the press, the organs of public discussions, in the same attitude as he does German spies. Although there may be occasionally some expressions, which incidentally conflict with the interests of some of the Allied states we, the people, are not at all inferior to our authorities in our sincerity and patriotism. Consequently, it is very natural that the reporters, who have been assigned to the Foreign Office, become highly indignant. We cannot bear to be guided with "minute and strict care" by such prefectural authorities, who can listen most attentively to this sort of instruction without uttering a word of objection.[1]

The following articles show the general attitude taken by the government authorities toward the press, as well as the balance of power kept between the two:

CONFLICT BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER GOTO AND THE JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATIONS.[2]

. . . . Baron Goto, who has realized his long-cultivated aspirations and ambitions by becoming the Host of Kasumigaseki (Foreign Office), was heartily welcomed by the public with great expectations because he is the only person who occupied that chair without having any previous relations with the Foreign Office, with the two exceptions of Marquis Okuma and Marquis Inouye. We can imagine how proud he must have felt in such a great initial success. . . . .

Baron Goto, who by nature cannot remain idle for a moment, hurried to perform some meritorious deeds. First of all he pronounced his policies as the Foreign Minister to the correspondents of the foreign newspapers. But to the native journalists he clung firmly to the customary habit of remaining silent and did not express one word about his political opinion. Meanwhile, the foreign cable brought the news back home that the opinion of the new Japanese Foreign Minister has been received abroad with general approval. Japanese journalists were greatly surprised, and began to make a commotion. In this situation, however, Baron Goto doubtlessly smiled a very proud smile and thought to himself "My ability as the new Foreign Minister is something like this, don't you see?" Thus Baron Goto's so-called "guidance of the organ

[1] *Ibid.*, editorial, June 1, 1918, pp. 12–14.

[2] Editorial in the *Sekai-Koron*, June, 1918, pp. 32–35.

for public discussion" has proved more or less successful in foreign countries at the very beginning of his ministerial career. He is a genius in putting journalists in his pay and thus making them praise him and attack his opponents. It is said that on every large newspaper he has several reporters paid by him, and many more on smaller newspapers, periodicals, and news-gathering agencies. Furthermore, there are several magazines and news-gathering agencies which have been newly established with the sole purpose of being fed by him. Therefore, if one censures his conduct, he says haughtily: "What wrong is there in becoming the great leader of the organs of public discussion? Even single-handed I can easily gather a large number of journalists under my standard."

. . . . The origin of the present conflict between the Foreign Minister and the journalists' associations is in the ministerial instruction given by him at the prefectural governors' conference. At first he did not expect to make that instruction public; but one of the reporters who was in his pay obtained a copy of the speech from him and published its summary with an apparent intention to distinguish himself in his loyal service to his master. Thereupon the Kasumi Club, the association of the reporters assigned to the Foreign Office, naturally became irritated and rebuked the Baron sharply for the unfairness of his giving the news; and consequently the Foreign Office was obliged to make that instruction public. In the original statement of his instruction there was a phrase "the supervision of the organs for public discussion," but later the word "supervision" was changed to "lead" because some of his advisers thought the former word too sharp. When this instruction was thus made public, the members of the Kasumi Club became extremely indignant, and sent delegates to negotiate the matter with the Foreign Minister. Then, according to his customary policy of deluding the enemies with pleasant treatment, Mr. Goto prepared a splendid table in the special room which is used only for the entertainment of the honored guests, and there he welcomed the delegates. Unexpectedly, however, this diplomacy ended in complete failure this time. It rather intensified the animosities of the delegates, and the trouble had gone so far that the Kasumi Club passed a resolution of non-confidence in the new Foreign Minister. Then Baron Goto, in extreme wrath, took the ungentlemanly measure of ordering those reporters out of the Foreign Office and strictly prohibiting their future entrance there, branding them as the "misbehaved reporters." Similar problems happened previously under the administrations of Baron Makino and Viscount Kato as Foreign Ministers; but in both those cases the Foreign Office paid no attention to the attacks, and

therefore the trouble soon ended. But our Baron Goto faced the matter squarely with a very haughty air, and in a furious mood denounced the reporters as insolent lads who stood against such a high dignitary as himself. It may be called childishness, but as the attitude of a state minister, his conduct was too ridiculous and witless. He reminds us of a short-tempered master, who after a little quarrel with his rikisha-man discharges the latter at once; thus completely disclosing to the public his characteristics as a parvenu.

This quarrel, unfortunately, could not be restricted to one corner of Kasumigaseki, but spread to twenty other journalists' clubs in Tokyo. We can imagine how difficult it must be now for the Baron to explain the situation, because he had always taken great pride in his rare ability in the manipulation of the journalists, and had just lately announced to the public his lofty policy of "leading the organs for public discussion." Even with Baron Makino and Viscount Kato, both of whom had little sympathy with the journalists and therefore were unpopular among them, the turmoils had been confined to one section of the Foreign Office, and the matter had at last ended indecisively. Nevertheless, it was Baron Goto, who carries with him a large gold sign-board as the "champion manipulator of journalists" who has created this awkward situation. This incident is, perhaps, an instance *of the proverbial* "The best cart may be overthrown."

The sole cause of this trouble seems to be in his miscalculation that, if he expelled the members of the Kasumi Club, the newspaper offices would assign other reporters to their places. Therefore, he wrote suggestions to the directors of all newspapers. But from the standpoint of the newspaper office, a reporter was empowered by it to act in his discretion so far as his assigned post is concerned; and therefore it must protect his position to a certain extent in order to maintain its own dignity. Moreover, a reporter's colleagues have the "knights help each other" spirit, and generally dare not invade another person's territory even if the director of the newspaper office order them to do so. Without any comprehension of such professional ethics existing among journalists, Baron Goto had calculated everything in his bureaucratic mind; and now it was too late for him to adjust his blunder by repentance. At first he must have anticipated that the newspaper offices would soon give in, because they would be extremely perplexed unless they obtained the news from the Foreign Office. But it was not only the newspaper offices that were afflicted, but the Foreign Office itself. Consequently it was announced that the news which was hitherto given out by the Foreign Office would be given out by the Cabinet thereafter. The Nagata Club, the association of reporters

who had been assigned the Cabinet news, however, flatly rejected this proposal for the reason that it did not properly come into their professional jurisdiction. Consequently, the Foreign Office was obliged to telephone each newspaper office whenever it had some report to be made public, and each paper office sent an office boy to receive the printed reports. Now the progress of this quarrel is very well worth seeing.

This article is apparently anti-Goto in its tone.

The following article, on the contrary, is somewhat pro-Goto; and by comparison of these two the real situation can be judged, and the balance of power between the reporters and officials made clear:

QUARREL BETWEEN THE KASUMI CLUB AND BARON GOTO

In the quarrel between the Kasumi Club and Goto, the reporters surrendered in a short time. It is said that Kuroiwa and other members of the Shinju-Kai had an interview with Goto, expecting to make this incident a serious problem. Then the latter explained the case to them, saying that his instruction "lead the journalists" means simply what those words signify, and he had no intention to oppress or command them; and that, if newspapers publish articles which are injurious to diplomatic relations, the consequence shall be the frequent prohibition of the publication of such papers; and therefore in order to avoid such inconveniences he hoped to lead the journalists in a proper direction for the benefit of both the newspapers and the Foreign Office.

This explanation of Goto being reasonable, Kuroiwa and others who visited him had no argument with him, and decided to take the rôle of an arbitrator between Goto and the Kasumi Club and other journalists' clubs which opposed him. In the beginning the members of the Kasumi Club were high-spirited, and sent manifestoes to all other journalists' clubs, many of which responded and became busy-bodies. But the arbitrator having been the Shinju-Kai, which is the association of directors, editors, and other influential staff members of large newspapers, the other associations and clubs of reporters could not disregard its advice. Some of the stubborn reporters seem to have been threatened with discharge from the office unless they accepted arbitration, while others were those who had previously received special favors from the Foreign Office. The situation having been such, it is said that the Kasumi Club, the originator of the trouble, itself first began to soften, and soon

entreated the other clubs, which went to its aid, to withdraw from the battlefield. What an interesting comedy it was! It is too ridiculous an incident even to be spoken of.[1]

The following anonymous article, signed Sensoku-Rojin (an old ex-journalist), shows the different attitudes generally taken by the bureaucrats and party politicians, with the consequent effect upon journalism:

The majority of writers on political affairs are young men with strong vitality and ambition, who after some of their journalistic experience unconsciously begin to assume an air of statesmen themselves. Furthermore, when the artful veteran politicians, who for many years have schooled themselves in the art of controlling the human mind, skilfully appeal to their sense of honor, patriotism, and chivalry, it is evident that these young journalists are perfectly happy. If anyone who desires to control politics lacks the power to charm and appeal to young journalists, he will be absolutely unable to become a successful statesman.

For reasons such as these the reporters who are assigned to obtain news of political parties, in the course of time become sympathetic to, or even the tools of, the parties whose news they were assigned to report impartially. On the other hand, the reporters who assigned the government offices live in a place immune from political fever. In addition, the officials generally look down upon the reporters, or consider them as a sort of human being who are annoying, nuisances, hindrances to business, and frequently men who expose the secrets of other people; in short, they are the troublesome persons whom they cannot keep their eyes off for a moment. Consequently they pretend to the utmost that they have no knowledge of the matters inquired about by the reporters. The reporters become reckless on account of such official attitudes, and they determine to stick more obstinately to their inquiries. The result is the growth of mutual ill feeling. . . . . Therefore the majority of reporters assigned to government offices take an antagonistic attitude toward such offices. . . . . Those reporters assigned to party news, on the contrary, soon make many friends among the party men, and finally become so intimate that they enjoy personal friendship apart from their professional relations. The government news reporter becomes more and more estranged from government officials. If he makes friendship with a few officials, his colleagues will backbite him and call him an ambitious coward, while such officials are often secretly reported to their chiefs as the violators of public-service regulations.

[1] Mumei-Inshi, the *Taiyo*, July 1, 1918, pp. 27–29.

In fact such officials might have intended to smooth over relations existing between the office and the reporters, but by doing so they risk their own positions. Consequently, most of them begin to act coldly toward the reporters, who, on the other hand, not caring to be rumored as having dishonest relations with the officials, take the policy not to fraternize at all. The result is that no cordial relationships between the two can be expected from the present situation.

Such is the temperamental difference between the bureaucrats and the party politicians, and this is the reason why government officials are generally unpopular in the journalistic world.[1]

As public education and the system of communication have rapidly progressed, the influence of the press upon the public has grown remarkably even with the petty local papers. Muckraking articles or articles appealing to patriotism generally have the most marked response. Riots and other public disturbances such as the burning of street cars by the mobs in Nagoya, the mob attack on the gaslight company of Gifu, mob violence and the attempt on the mayor's mansion in Kanagawa, and the rice riots which occurred last year in many localities of Japan were undoubtedly incited to a great extent by newspaper articles, which were often exaggerated in tone. Japan has been rapidly changing in nearly every aspect of her national life for the past fifty years; and consequently there has been constant social unrest. In such a situation the susceptibility of the public is at its zenith, and the press has unlimited control upon public sentiment. Since the Russo-Japanese War, newspaper circulation has enormously increased, and a mental situation of the masses is more readily created than it was ten years ago. Thus the rôle of the newspaper has become more significant year after year.

In August, 1918, there were mob uprisings called "rice riots" in many localities in Japan. The price of rice, which is the principal food of the people of Japan, was raised exorbitantly; and furthermore, many riceshops refused to sell, speculating for further rise in prices. Consequently the poorer classes suffered from lack of food, and at last rioting was started in the larger cities and then all over the country. Considerable damage was done to property and life. An order was issued

[1] Sensoku-Rojin, the *Chu-o Koron*, March, 1917, pp. 25–29.

by the Minister of the Interior, prohibiting publication of any news concerning the riots. The following articles which appeared in the *Chu-o*, a daily newspaper of Tokyo, clearly shows the development of the matter:

PUBLICATION FORBIDDEN BECAUSE OF SINCERE PATRIOTISM

SO SAYS MIZUNO, THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Mizuno, has said: "The prohibition of the publicity of the riot news was very necessary. When the house-wives' riot first took place in Toyama, we did not interfere with the publicity of that news, although we felt that there might be some serious consequences. Then similar riots occurred both in Kobe and Osaka, and came to Tokyo with an epidemic nature. Since the newspapers publish these items in exaggeration, they tend to incite more riots, and the trouble has been spread now even into the northern district which has hitherto been calm. In other words, newspaper publicity undoubtedly tends to incite more riots. Until today, so far as the news was based on real facts, the Department of the Interior itself had made it public. But the situation having grown so dangerous, we are obliged to forbid publicity in consideration of the dangerous epidemic nature of the riots. Consequently we were obliged to carry out this prohibition, which decision was prompted by our patriotic sincerity, and we do so suppressing our tears. Therefore, if you journalists think of the interest of the state and of the nation, we believe that you will undoubtedly share our feelings. As for this matter I am ready to take all responsibility."[1]

A movement by the journalists to request the cancellation of the prohibition order was then started at once. The following article, also from the *Chu-o*, describes this affair:

SHINJU-KAI MOVES

REQUESTS THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO CANCEL THE PROHIBITION ORDER

At noon of the fifteenth, the Shinju-Kai (one of the most influential journalists' associations) held a committee meeting at Seiyoken of Tsukiji; and after a discussion as to the order prohibiting the publication of riot news, which was issued to all metropolitan newspapers in the night of the fourteenth, made

[1] The *Chu-o*, August 15, 1918, p. 3.

a resolution. Messrs. Kuroiwa, Yoshiuye, and Matsuyama were appointed as the delegates; and they at once called on Mr. Mizuno, the Minister of the Interior, presented their resolution, and requested his reply by 3:00 P.M. of the sixteenth. According to the nature of his reply, it is said that the journalists all over the country will simultaneously rise and begin a great agitation. The following is the resolution passed:

"We consider the order issued by the Minister of the Interior in the night of the fourteenth instant, which prohibited the publication of news concerning the riots caused by the exorbitant rise in the price of rice, an oppressive measure against the freedom of discussion, and an unprecedentedly unjust act. Therefore, the committee of the Shinju-Kai hereby requests of the Minister of the Interior a cancellation of this order by 3:00 P.M. of the sixteenth instant."[1]

THE PROHIBITION ORDER WAS PARTLY CANCELED

THE PROBLEM OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION—THE SECOND NEGOTIATION BY SHINJU-KAI

Regarding the matter of the suppression by the present Cabinet of the freedom of discussion about the rice riot, the Shinju-Kai negotiated the cancellation of that order with Minister of the Interior Mizuno, and rigorously advised him that unless the government changes its attitude at once the Shinju-Kai shall act as it sees best to solve the case.

At the fixed time of the sixteenth, Minister of the Interior Mizuno, attended by Vice-Minister Kobashi, gave the following reply to Mr. Naotaro Murakami, the representative of the president of the Shinju-Kai:

"The government favorably considers the resolution passed by the committee of the Shinju-Kai regarding the order which prohibited the publication of the riot news, and the desires and opinions explained by the gentlemen of the delegates. Therefore, we cancel the said order, and hereafter will permit the publication of the contents of the official reports which are given out by the Department of the Interior and also other facts which are based in such reports."

After having examined this reply, the Shinju-Kai again held a committee meeting at 2:00 P.M. at Seiyoken of Tsukiji, and after a long consultation, decided again to negotiate with the Minister of the Interior to request the permission of the publication of the facts which are gathered from private sources, as far as they are correct, because the publication of only official

[1] The *Chu-o*, August 16, 1918, p. 2.

reports makes it difficult to obtain the correct interpretation of the facts and the right idea of the real situation. Thereupon President Kuroiwa and Messrs. Matsuyama, Yoshiuye, Yamakawa, and Otani, representing the Shinju-Kai, called on the Minister of the Interior. With the attendances of both Vice-Minister Kobashi and Director of the Police Bureau Nagata, Mizuno carefully considered the matter and promised to give an answer by noon of the seventeenth instant. Judging from the progress of the matter heretofore, it seemed that the problem would soon be solved most satisfactorily.[1]

THE PROHIBITION ORDER WAS ENTIRELY CANCELED

PROBLEM OF THE OPPRESSION UPON THE FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION—A MEMORANDUM BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

. . . . At noon of the 17th instant, an answer was given by the Minister of the Interior. The Shinju-Kai, however, thought that the reply contained a few points that differed from those that the Minister of the Interior had told to its delegates the previous night, and immediately it consulted with him. Consequently, the Minister handed the delegates the following written memorandum, and therefore, the committee ended its activities, thinking that they had accomplished what they had first intended to obtain.

MEMORANDUM:

The news regarding the riots, caused by the rise of the price of rice, may be published by the newspapers so far as they are the official reports and the facts which are based upon such reports. As to the other news, it is not our intention to prohibit its publication if it is based on the actual facts and is neither exaggerated nor inciting in its nature.

The government only hopes that the newspapers will use serious consideration in the treatment of this news, because the situation in the country is very grave.[2]

Mizuno, who succeeded Goto as Minister of the Interior, after the latter's transfer to the Foreign Office, took a much more liberal attitude toward the press than had his predecessor, as is shown by the concessions of the Terauchi Cabinet toward the press. The official atttiude in this matter seems to indicate the general trend today in government affairs. Even Count Terauchi himself was not the same man at the end as he

[1] *Ibid.*, August 17, 1918, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1918, p. 2.

was at the beginning of his administration. Practical politics will teach any dogmatic bureaucrat or arbitrary conservative the power of the press and of public opinion in the modern world.

The Terauchi Ministry did not make any particularly serious blunder; but the day for a distinctly bureaucratic government had already passed, and the people could not be contented with it. During the last decade the general atmosphere of Japan has grown distinctly democratic, especially since the outbreak of the Great War. The people have begun to seek a more liberal government than that of the past. In view of all this, Count Terauchi at last resigned; and on September 29, 1918, the Hara Cabinet was organized on a purely party basis with members of the Seiyu-Kai.

This new cabinet is the second party government in the political history of Japan. The first party government was established by the First Okuma Ministry in 1898 as previously stated, but it was unsuccessful and short-lived, because the newly organized Kenseito party was soon split into two factions, Okuma's adherents and Itagaki's followers. It was in fact only a pseudo-party government. Therefore, in a strict sense, the Hara Cabinet might be called the first party government in Japan. Heretofore a majority of the cabinet members were nobles. Today Premier Hara himself is a non-title holder, and, with the exception of two barons, the rest of his cabinet members are commoners. Thus Hara has made a new record in the political history of Japan, in accordance with the popular demand. This cabinet started out with the people's approval, and, since it was an experiment and a test of the strength of democracy, the whole nation of Japan looked for its success. Even the anti-governmental parties did not provoke unnecessary disputes as they had in the past, lest they should give another opportunity for the revival of the militaristic and bureaucratic domination. The general tone in journalistic circles was also favorable. It is interesting to see how Hara has profited by his long political experience, and how the spirit of the age has so democratized him. He was in the beginning a strong bureaucrat, and left records of frequent disturbances in the Diet and among the journalists by his high-handed measures. In the new cabinet he and his followers were busily occupied in keeping abreast of

the political trend of the age. Many customary ceremonial practices and much "red tape" were abolished; contact between the authorities and the people was made easier; and the educational system was more democratized (see chap. v); and the suffrage reform was far partially accomplished by extending the franchise to nearly 2,500,000 people, 1,000,000 more than the previous number. This suffrage reform is, of course, insignificant in a state which has nearly 60,000,000 population, but the trend of the times clearly indicates that a far wider franchise will soon be given. The popular demand is for universal manhood suffrage, and there are already many advocates of woman suffrage. All the opposition parties and people's suffrage organizations, with the co-operation of newspapers, have launched a vigorous campaign for universal suffrage and are now fighting against the government's conservative measure.

Since the latter part of 1918 labor problems have occupied the center of national attention. Although labor organizations are prohibited by the imperial laws, there have arisen frequent strikes of wage-earners in many branches of industry and commerce all over the country. Previously the laborers of Japan were helpless creatures, who had either to quit work individually and starve or submit themselves to the mercy of their employers. They are now raising a cry for better pay, shorter hours, better working conditions, etc., collectively. Most of these things are those which the laborers of the Western countries acquired a long time ago, but even such conservative requests on the part of the wage-earners were revolutionary in Japan and shocked the upper-class people. Now the press is taking up this problem with enthusiasm and the public is eagerly discussing it. The upper classes, especially the capitalists and the authorities, are extremely anxious about it, and by their consternation they are overemphasizing the seriousness of the situation. The appearance of such a new phase of the labor problem was, of course, directly due to the rapid development of modern industry, which has brought many new abuses with it, on the one hand, and an enormous increase in the cost of living on the other, during the past several years in Japan. But the poverty of the laborers is not a new phenomenon there. They have always been extremely hard pressed, having been allowed only

minimum living wages and many of them even less. Taking all the elements of their material comfort into account, their past was no better than their present condition, on the average, and in fact their standard of living has been considerably raised in recent years. Therefore the dissatisfaction was not due so much to the amount of wages or the condition of work itself as it was to their aspirations for more justice and equality. It seems to be true in any country that at least one-half the causes of labor problems are primarily of a psychological nature, and this fact was keenly felt in the recent labor disturbances in Japan. Previously the wage-earning people of Japan were ignorant and servile creatures who did not realize even the existence of their own personalities. Due to the gradual diffusion of education and the development of the means of communication, however, they began to wake up and to realize more clearly the significance of human life and the relative importance of their place in society. They soon realized that there was something wrong in the system of the distribution of wealth and in the social relations between different classes. They heard of an enormous increase of the national income during the Great War, and observed the luxury of financial upstarts who had absorbed the greater part of the war profits. They read in newspapers that a large number of corporations paid extraordinarily high dividend rates, and that the banks are so flooded with money that they do not know what to do with it. But what had happened to them? The raise in wages had scarcely caught up with the increasing cost of living. They felt that, as a member of such a wealth-producing community, they were entitled to fairer treatment. As long as this aspiration for justice and equality on the part of the wage-earners remains more or less unsatisfied there will always be some sort of labor problem even if the wages are high enough to sustain a moderate living for their families and the working conditions are fairly tolerable; they would request their participation in the management and control of the industry itself. This is the reason why we see labor uprisings in Japan while peace and tranquillity still prevail in the labor markets of China, India, and all other neighboring states of Asia. There the condition of the wage-earning classes is far worse than in Japan, but they are not yet conscious of their own human value.

Recently the general awakening of the masses has been strongly felt by the conservative elements, especially the bureaucrats and the militarists. They are alarmed that the people have grown so undisciplined and revolutionary; and they fear radical socialism and bolshevism, which may overturn all sorts of existing beliefs, ideals, organizations, and institutions, and throw the nation into political as well as moral anarchy. These alarmists and skeptics, however, do not see in the darkness of national life the bright sparks which will lead the whole nation toward a much healthier development. Since this is a transitional age from the state of political subconsciousness to self-consciousness for the mass of the people, there is a great deal of unrest, excitement, and temporary disorganization, which occasionally may have more or less dangerous tendencies. Only by going through such conflicts and struggles, however, is the real political development of a nation possible. The days of autocracy and benevolent despotism have passed away, and the people are aware of the fact that a state is by no means a sort of superhuman institution destined to be controlled by mysterious might and wisdom kept in the hands of certain authorities or a small number of the privileged classes, but that it is simply the highest social organization existing for the purpose of a co-operative development of the life of all of its constituent members. Whether the democracy which is represented by any one of the so-called democratic states of the present day is an ideal political state or not—probably it is not—the goal of a real democracy, political, social, and industrial, is participation by an increasing number of the population in the common life of the community. In this sense the more democratic a community grows the nearer it approaches the ideal state in social and political life. And in the process of democratization of a community the importance of the rôle played by the press is second to none regardless of the fact that various incidental abuses have accompanied it due to the excessive growth of commercialism and of sensationalism. Direction of political affairs in Japan today is no longer a monopoly of the privileged classes, because the power of the people is becoming more and more felt in internal and foreign affairs. Through the press views are exchanged and opinions expressed. And the attitude of the general public, which includes now the great majority

of the national population, is reflected through it better than through any other medium in Japan. In short, this is a period in which the fetish-like nationalism of the preceding two decades has been greatly enlightened, and in which a healthy democracy has at last found a strong foothold in the Land-of-the-Rising-Sun.

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